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KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PUBLICATIONS
IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

EDITED BY

SHAILER MATHEWS THEODORE G. SOARES
W. W. CHARTERS

HANDBOOKS OF ETHICS AND RELIGION

This series of Handbooks is intended to set forth in a readable form the results of the scientific study of religion and ethics. The various authors do not undertake to embody in any detail the processes which lie back of their conclusions. Such technical treatment is more appropriate for works of a strictly scientific character than for those intended not only to be used as textbooks and collateral reading in colleges and theological seminaries, but also to be of help to general readers. The volumes all seek to conserve the values of past religious experience. While each author is free to present his own conclusions, the entire series has the common characteristic of historical method. The editors have not prescribed any rigorous uniformity of treatment, but believe that the individuality of treatment will serve to stimulate thought and discussion. It is hoped that the series will help to show that the method of experiment and criticism contributes to stronger religious faith and moral idealism.—THE EDITORS.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY
SHANGHAI

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

By

THEODORE GERALD SOARES

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO · ILLINOIS

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Published March 1928

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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In Memoriam

RAMOS AUGUSTO SOARES
(Vimy Ridge)

GUY BASIL KENDALL
(Gallipoli)

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PREFACE

This volume is an expansion of the Earl Lectures delivered at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California, in February, 1927. It is an attempt to restate the theory of religious education.

As this subject is taking its place in the curricula of colleges and schools of theology, there is generally a fundamental course in the Principles of Religious Education. To provide a textbook for such a course has been the primary object in the preparation of this volume in its present form. It is hoped, however, that the general reader may find here such a treatment of the subject as will meet his interests and needs. While it is quite unlikely that he will care to undertake the work indicated in the Subjects for Study and the Suggestions for the Autobiography appended to each chapter, he is recommended to read the statements, as they afford a development of the argument and are not merely class exercises.

The endeavor to define the meaning of religious education belongs practically to the present century. The writer has surveyed that development in the *Journal of Religion* (January, 1926). There has been a notable comradeship of the men and women, a few at first, and not even yet very numerous, who have earnestly and vigorously discussed this new interpretation of the educational task. To that body of discussion, which has determined our developing point of view during these interesting years, it is a pleasure to acknowledge a deep indebtedness.

To his colleagues, Professors W. C. Bower and E. J. Chave, who have read the MS and favored him with criticisms and suggestions, the author expresses grateful appreciation.

THE AUTHOR

Christmastide, 1927

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INTRODUCTION

THE MEANING OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

A fully educated person would be competent in every situation; not necessarily in his own individual abilities, for life is too complex for that, but in his access to needed resources.

On the lowest plane this would mean efficiency in all necessary mechanical adjustments to the physical environment, an efficiency that would include many skills and knowledges. Social competencies would require the tools of knowledge, many skills of speech and communication, large ranges of information, desirable habits of social practice and adjustment. Fulness of life would mean the enjoyment of the artistic experiences and the sympathetic appreciation of all the moods of nature and of the expressions of human life. Co-operation in the human enterprise would mean the development of some special economic competence, habits and skills in working with others, ability to criticize social achievement and to see methods of betterment. All this effort would involve skill in the deliberative determination of conduct and would need adequate motivation. In the presence of strong inducement or urgent impulse to socially undesirable conduct, the educated man, by virtue of habitual correctness, of ideals consciously cherished, of willingness and ability to give attention to social consequences, would be able to refrain from the objectionable course. In like manner, in the presence of high social demand for conduct difficult, unpleasant, even painful, he would be able

to respond with heroic devotion. The fully educated man would thus meet competently not only each separate situation but also the total situation of life as a whole. He would have such an experience of God's purpose of righteousness and love, an experience shared with a religious group, that he would find a satisfying meaning in life's confusions and would face the universe with joy and peace. This again would be the most lively motivation for social co-operations with his fellow-men and for ardent endeavor to achieve the great purpose of righteousness and love in this human world.

It is the object of education to develop such socialized persons. Evidently this has two aspects: it must look forward in all its process to the socialized personality as the goal; and it must so organize the process that it shall produce the measurably, though immature, socialized person at each stage of the development. Education as a mere preparation for adult life defeats its own end. The best promise of a socialized man is a socialized boy, competent to meet *his* situations and to meet the total life-situation as far as it is possible for *him* to face it.

Education then may be defined as the directed process of helping growing persons to develop progressively those habits, skills, attitudes, knowledges, appreciations, and ideals which will enable them at each stage of their progress to achieve an ever more integrated personality and to live competent and satisfying lives in their physical environment and as co-operative members of an ongoing and improving human society.

Let us examine the definition in detail. Education is here used, not in the general sense of the totality of influences that effect our development, but in the more

technical sense of the process which educators—parents, teachers, pastors—consciously organize to produce the results which they desire. It is therefore a *directed process*.

The process is *progressive*, and provides for adequate competence of living at each stage of growth. Education would have been saved from untold waste and confusion if educators could have kept in mind that it is perfectly respectable to be ten years old. There is a rich, effective, socially contributory life for a child of ten. He is not merely preparing to be something else, he is fully entitled to his own childhood experience. There are, to be sure, some experiences quite natural to him, quite rich and joyous for him, which are more valuable than some others because they lead forward to more mature living. The educator selects these and opens the way for him to enter them.

The educational process will develop: *habits*, which will be desirable ways of acting that need no deliberation; *skills*, which will be the abilities to do whatever is necessary in efficient living; *attitudes*, which will be the desirable emotional reactions in the situations that develop; *knowledges*, which will be the bodies of usable information; *appreciations*, which will be the feelings of value of all that the growing person should experience; and *ideals*, which will be the pictures of conduct nobler than is customary. Each of these will be conditioned by the maturity, interest, and social experience of the growing person.

Education looks to *the integration of personality*. Impulsive responses to our changing stimuli result in fragmentary experience and develop no adequate resources for meeting life's problems. Only as one becomes conscious of the meanings in experience, carries over the gains

of one experience into others, sees the relations of various values, and organizes his behavior in accordance with some significant purpose or purposes—only thus does life become unified and a sense of personality become vital.

The aim of education is *competent and satisfying life in the physical environment.* We are here on a material planet. We must exploit it and enjoy it. Again this will be a graded experience. In some ways the child will be more joyous than the adult; while the adult will develop larger possibilities of satisfaction. A wise education will introduce children progressively to some of the harsher aspects of life but, so far as possible, will seek to develop the joyous experience of living in God's wonderful world, which we can learn to use for our happiness and welfare, and in which he can find ever deeper satisfactions.

The larger aim of education is to develop growing persons as *co-operative members of an ongoing and improving human society.* This development will progress from the simple habits of co-operative domestic life which little children should acquire to the wisest criticism of our social procedure and the most devoted effort to improve it which is possible for the adult. All social education, utilizing all the social sciences, works with this aim. The final test of its success will be the better society itself.

If this is education, what is religion? Religion, as known to most of us who are interested in this discussion, is sharing with some worshiping group the experience of that divine purpose of righteousness and love which gives meaning to life viewed as a whole, and a consequent experience of growing competence to meet life as a total situation.

Religious education is the directed process of helping

growing persons progressively to achieve the experience defined above as religious.

Then religious education is not something added to education, nor something apart from it. It is a certain quality of education. The divine enterprise of righteousness and love is to be carried out on this planet in which we are teaching the children to live competently and joyously, and that enterprise is the ongoing, improving society in which we are teaching the children to be co-operative members.

We are not concerned at this point to discuss the functions of home, school, and church in this total process, but only to note the essential unity of the process. Suppose that certain religious practices and ideas may not come into the school, yet a religious teacher may teach religious boys and girls in the school. Religion need not always be explicit; it may always be implicit. Religious education would make explicit the religious quality of the educational process.

Religious education may therefore have its own specific aims, which may be expressed as follows:

1. Fellowship in the life of the religious group: sharing its practices, its worship (involving its functional scriptures, its prayers, its hymnody), its ideas, its hopes, its ideals, its moral purposes.

2. Purpose and ability to criticize the life of the religious group with reference to its contribution to the socialization of all life. The result of this criticism is to make the higher socialization, thus conceived, effective within the possibilities of the learner.

3. Skill in the deliberative determination of conduct with social purpose and religious motive.

Personal experience with God

4. Personal experience of rapport with the Eternal that may give the highest meaning to personal life as worthful in itself and in its contribution to social ends.

THE METHOD OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Religious education has always been an art; it has lately undertaken to become a science. In this endeavor it must first lay under tribute all that the older sciences offer to its needs, and the student of the subject will do well to recognize the desirability of familiarity with these sources of contributory knowledge. Fundamental are biology and physiology, for we must understand the physical development of the educable being with whom we are concerned. The practical science of hygiene, so very important also in education, is derived from these. Psychology will come next as giving us knowledge of mental behavior. Genetic psychology, recognizing that the psychophysical organism is a growth, undertakes to study its developing experience. Sociology sees man in his group life and seeks to find out how social reactions come about. Psychology and sociology come together in social psychology, which undertakes to study the interactions of the individual and society. Psychology of religion is especially concerned with those types of human experience which we recognize as religious. History of religion endeavors to trace the process by which man came to a sense of these highest values. The study of biblical history and literature and of the history of the Christian church traces the development of the great social experiences through which our own religion has come to us. Christian theology and ethics formulate the meaning of that religion in modern life. Education as a science endeavors by experimentation to

determine the effectiveness and value of teaching processes. All these sciences have developed techniques by which they carry on their researches and estimate results.

A very large number of the questions which the student of religious education will ask can be answered from the results already obtained in the sciences enumerated above, or can be studied by the techniques which those sciences employ. Beyond this, however, religious education is endeavoring to construct scientific procedures of its own. This is an exceedingly difficult task, because of the elusive nature of so much of the data which are sought. We should like to be able to answer such questions as the following: "What is the significance in the child's experience of his recognition that his parents believe in God?" "What is the motivating power of religion in children's conduct?" "When and how should we teach children to pray?" "What is the healthy sex experience at various stages of youthful development?" "How can ill-tempered children be socialized?" "What is a conversion experience, and what relation should education have to it?" Evidently procedures in psychology, and especially in psychology of religion, may be suggestive in attacking these problems; some educational techniques of investigation may help us; but the satisfactory answer to these questions lies in the future. No one has yet developed an adequate methodology in our field. But such problems as these are engaging the attention of experimental religious education, and a beginning of scientific procedure has been made.

The discussions in this volume proceed upon (*a*) the scientific bases afforded by the contributory sciences; (*b*) a theoretical evaluation of current educational practice;

(*c*) the observed results of many experiments (not strictly so-called in the scientific sense, but tentative endeavors) in the improvement of educational procedure; and (*d*) such actual experimentation as religious education has already achieved.

We are to discuss the principles underlying the process by which religious education seeks to achieve its aims. We shall consider the nature and educability of the human material with which we work (chaps. i–iii); the nature of the religion with which education is concerned today (chaps. iv and v); certain fundamental characteristics of the educational process, especially in its social aspects (chap. vi–xii); and the experience of membership in the worshiping group (chaps. xiii–xv).

CHAPTER I

THEORIES OF HUMAN NATURE

There is a popular theory that human nature cannot be changed. Editors, politicians, and publicists discuss the social problems of today on the avowed basis of a certain intractability of the human animal. They insist that he is aggressive, belligerent, selfish, passionate, and that we must be content with a society in which these impulses hold sway. Evidently any discussion of religious education which is concerned with the daring hope that a generation of youth might grow up equipped to make a better social order will have to meet at the outset the problem of human nature.

As a matter of fact, theories of human nature have always controlled education. Even Mr. Dooley's suggestion for a curriculum, that we find out what the children do not like and then give them lots of it, is based on the very definite conception of the unruly human animal that must be tamed by discipline.

THEOLOGICAL THEORIES

NATURAL DEPRAVITY

Christian education has been very clearly dominated by theological theories of human nature; and they are still seriously complicating much of our church procedure. Certain of them are founded upon the narratives in the opening chapters of the Bible. Hebrew religious genius, seeking to account for the presence of evil, used material from ancient Semitic mythology and pictured the tempta-

tion of Adam and Eve in the garden of innocence. The psychological truth, as well as the poetic beauty, of those stories ought to have saved them from the theologians. Paul employs them rabbinically and homiletically to make contrast between the heritage of evil that comes to us from our natural ancestry and the freedom effected by the regenerative power of grace. Here was the material for theological speculation, with the resulting orthodox Christian doctrine of the total depravity of man.

The effect of that doctrine upon the interpretation of childhood is inevitable and far reaching. Forced by the irrefutable logic of their system, men have held that the babe that lies in its mother's arms has a nature utterly corrupt. There is in it no possibility of good; all its tendencies are toward evil. It is alien from God and under his eternal wrath. Its spiritual father is the devil, and its fitting destiny is an unending hell. Of course this fearful doctrine was only the foundation of the glorious doctrine of salvation. God was graciously ready to change this depraved nature and to give to the child his own divine qualities. How was this to be brought about? There are two answers to this question, and the whole course of religious education has been, and is in many quarters today, affected by the theory that is espoused. For the sacramentalist, the regeneration of the child is effected by baptism, which is the channel of grace. When the sacred rite has been performed, an actual change has taken place in the essential nature of the infant. Not that the old evil is gone—it will wage a long struggle in the redeemed soul—but a new life has begun; and ability is now present to respond to spiritual guidance.

Childhood is easily interpreted on this theory. When

the child does wrong, we see the outcropping of the old nature; when he is good, we behold the victory of the grace of God. Parents and teachers are encouraged to help the development of the better nature. Thus, in effect the dogma of baptismal regeneration offsets the dogma of human depravity. The sacramental churches have thus quite naturally been those in which religious education has been conceived as a fundamental responsibility of parents and pastors. To be sure, they have often spoiled it with intellectualistic catechisms; they have often routinized their technique and made of confirmation a kind of graduation from the childhood discipline. When they have done this, they have lost the opportunity which their sacramental theory afforded them. However, they have not been embarrassed by a theological theory of the ineducability of their children but have been so far free to develop their own training process.

A large section of the Christian church has rejected sacramentalism. To them it is little short of magic to think of a ceremony performed upon an unconscious infant effecting any radical change in his fundamental nature. The evangelical theory is that the grace of God is imparted to the repentant sinner. When one realizes his depraved nature and exercises faith in the divine grace, then, and only then, is the regenerating grace imparted; then, and only then, is the evil nature changed. What place does this leave for the religious education of children? Manifestly you cannot religiously educate a child of the devil. You should not teach him the Lord's prayer, for God is not his Father. He should not learn the Twenty-third Psalm, for the Lord is not his Shepherd. God is only his Judge. It was fitting enough that Cotton Mather

should exhort his five-year-old daughter to flee from the wrath to come and that he should picture the terrors of the future to her trembling mind. What else could he do? The orthodox theory of human depravity reduces religious education to the attempt to bring the child as early as possible to the consciousness of his lost nature and of the necessity of salvation.

If we seem to be discussing an outgrown theory, it may be sufficient to note that there recently appeared in the primary quarterly of one of the large denominations the statement: "Let the teacher never forget that her chief concern is the salvation of her children." If this meant that they must be saved from ignorance, prejudice, evil conduct, it would be unexceptionable; but the context indicates that these children, six to eight years of age, are expected to undergo some radical change of nature before they can be considered to have religious experience.

It is true that certain modifications of this rigid doctrine have taken place. Theologians concede that children dying before years of discretion (the meaning of this has never been determined) are saved by grace. In practice, common sense has triumphed over theological speculation, and young children have generally been brought up as if they were religiously educable. But great confusion has been manifest with the approach of the "years of discretion." Children who have been developing happily in Christian conduct have been called upon to "accept Christ," "believe in Jesus as Savior," "become Christians." While it is true that theories of depravity and of miraculous regeneration no longer dominate religious education, inasmuch as practical experience with children

has made them innocuous in many areas of the process, yet these theories reappear at certain points, creating unfortunate confusion in our program and not seldom effecting the complete alienation of our youth.

It is clear that all these theological theories are unscientific. They are a priori, authoritative, based upon biblical interpretation. While the biblical story upon which they rest was the outcome of human experience, these theories have made no attempt to check that experience by direct observation of human nature itself.

THE DIVINITY OF MAN

What of the opposite theological theory of the divinity of man? Rousseau laid down the doctrine of the essential goodness of nature and formulated an educational theory based upon the goodness of the natural impulses. The liberal protest of a century ago carried this doctrine into theology. The noble statement appears on the monument to Channing in Boston that "he affirmed anew the divinity of man." Homiletically admirable! What appeal to men could be better than to challenge them to be worthy of their divine origin and destiny? Admirable also as an incentive to parents and teachers to train the young life that has come to them fresh from God, and to save it from the mistakes and sins that do so easily beset us. But as a complete theory of human nature it is utterly unscientific. What is it that is good? The native impulses of the child? The ways in which he reacts to his environment? The conduct which may be regarded as his own, apart from the stimuli that call it forth? And what do we mean by "good" as applied to a child?

This theology equally with orthodoxy lacks both the

sociological and the biological point of view. It fails to recognize that "goodness" and "badness" are social terms deriving their meaning from social behavior and that the original nature of man can be only his biological inheritance and therefore cannot have any qualities which belong to social living.

Morality is determined by social experience. We in the West think it is good to kill noxious insects. Millions of Orientals regard it as no different from murder. What has original nature to do with this morality or immorality?

Man has an original tendency to sociality, i.e., to social interaction with his fellows. Morality develops in this interaction. That is to say, a child is born unmoral, just as he is born unpolitical. Morality and immorality develop in the social process.

Evidently a priori theology needs to be superseded by inductive psychology. Instead of deciding the nature of children by philosophizing on good and evil or by debating the meaning of disputed texts of scripture, the scientific method is to determine the nature of the biological inheritance and to study the behavior of children as they develop in the social environment.

SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

We do not, of course, move out of the realm of uncertainty and difference when we pass from theology to psychology. The observed facts of human nature lead to varied opinions and may suggest markedly divergent practical programs.

RECAPITULATION

A generation ago religious and moral education was captured by the brilliant theory of recapitulation.

G. Stanley Hall, who had given such a vigorous stimulus to the child-study movement, had himself gathered vast bodies of data upon the behavior of children. The questionnaire method which he employed was of course subject to the very serious limitations which have since been so often pointed out. Hall gave a great vogue to a theory of human nature based upon a supposedly well-established theory of embryology. It was asserted that the human organism in its prenatal stage actually passed through (that is, recapitulated) the entire history of its biological ancestry. At birth the child was supposed to have reached the beginning of the human career. During the years of childhood and youth the organism would rapidly pass through (that is, recapitulate) the cultural history of the race. Upon this theory the young child is actually a savage; he is later a barbarian; thence he passes through the various levels of ascending culture, until in later adolescence he reaches the civilized state. One exponent of the theory actually identified the stage of chivalry, the romantic youth being then only about five hundred years behind the times.

The theory was eagerly accepted by religious educators. The literature of the adolescent groups, such as the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls, has been largely built upon this view of human nature. There are still many religious leaders who do not know that the theory has been generally abandoned as lacking scientific foundation. Superficially it seemed very promising for educational methods. How simple to excuse youthful crudity as savage instinct. How picturesque to see in eager boys about the camp fire the old spirit of the fire worshipers. How excusable to explain truancy as the reappearance of the nomad instinct. How easy to see in the street gang

the ancient tribal fellowship. We were warned that these ancestral impulses must not be frustrated. As a tadpole whose tail was cut off would never develop the legs of the frog, so the boy who was not allowed to fight, and bully, and deceive, and gang, would never become a peaceful, kindly, honorable member of society.

The recapitulation theory was not designedly opposed to any of the theological theories, but it did good service in releasing religious education from their thrall. The supposed evidences of depravity were accepted as simply the traits of earlier stages of culture; while the divinity of the young savage was somewhat difficult to maintain.

But what a sad plight we should be in if such recapitulation were a fact. If it is difficult to know how to educate a child of the devil, how does anybody know what to do with a savage in a civilized environment? The unfortunate savage with a lady and gentleman for his parents, with a civilized fellowship all about him, would be indeed "cribbed, cabin'd and confined," while we elders would stand helplessly by wondering with what social pabulum this recapitulating organism should be fed.[1]

[1] For a summary of the argument against the recapitulation theory, see Thorndike, *The Original Nature of Man*, pp. 254 ff.

The writer cannot forbear to add an argument of his own, which is based on the admirable system of education by which the knight was produced. After spending seven years of early childhood with his parents, the little lad destined for knighthood was sent to serve for seven years as a page in the court of a noble. This period from seven to fourteen is, according to the recapitulation theory, the very time when untamed, barbarous instincts would be especially manifest. But the page was trained in the punctilious etiquette of chivalry. He was to wait upon the ladies on bended knee; he was emphatically to be, not a savage, but a gentleman. So far from producing an atrophy of manly qualities, the discipline of the page led to the vigorous activity of the squire and ultimately to the prowess, dignity, and grace of knighthood. We have, by the way, much to

INSTINCT

To offer a definition of instinct is at once to take sides in the controversy which is now dividing social psychologists. In the earlier discussion of instinct, William James[1] regarded it as an unlearned tendency to respond to a stimulus, as the cat will pursue a mouse. Thorndike[2] would use the term "reflex" for the uniform, definite response and would employ "instinct" when the response is more indefinite, the situation more complex, and the connection more modifiable. Evidently animals are very well equipped with these original tendencies to action and carry on most of their life upon the instinctive basis, experience and learning, through which habits are developed, playing a very limited part, and reasoning being of the most rudimentary kind. The older psychology thought of man as furnished with a body of faculties which distinguished him from the lower animals whose behavior was determined by instinct. But a closer analysis disclosed that much which they supposed to be the direct effect of the exercise of a faculty was really the result of experience and of learning. The question arose whether the original human impulses were not nearer akin to those of the animals than had been supposed. Indeed, it was said that man is not less, but very much more, equipped than the lower orders with instinctive tendencies to action. James[3] made a careful inventory of the human instincts, of which he found fifty-two.

learn from those days in the training of children to be ladies and gentlemen.

[1] *Psychology, Briefer Course*, p. 391.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

[3] *Principles of Psychology*, chap. xxiv.

Thorndike, objecting to such responses as curiosity, pugnacity, constructiveness, as altogether too general to be regarded as instincts, undertakes to define much more definitely the exact nature of the unlearned tendency.[1] McDougall[2] finds fourteen major and seven minor instincts. Kirkpatrick builds his *Fundamentals of Child Study* on the development of instincts.

If man does possess, organized in his neural constitution, very definite tendencies to respond characteristically to situations, this is of course highly important for religious education. If, in our endeavor to develop a world-society of human fellowship, we have to deal with a humanity actuated by the fighting instinct, we evidently have a very difficult undertaking.

It is generally held by those who support the instinct theory that these tendencies to action were developed in the evolutionary process on account of their survival value. Thus the tendencies to run after a small, receding object and to run away from a large, approaching object were valuable for purposes of food on the one hand and of defense on the other. But this type of behavior may not be at all desirable in a civilized society. Hence, the educator must recognize that in the child whom he is seeking to help in its adjustment to the society into which it has been born, he has a being that is really natively adapted to a wholly different environment. Some of the instincts, therefore, may result in very unsocial conduct in the present environment; while, on the other hand, some of them may operate quite satisfactorily.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff. The whole volume is a most illuminating presentation of the instinct theory.

[2] *Outline of Psychology*, chap. v, "The Instincts of the Mammals and of Man."

It is generally agreed that education on the instinctive basis involves a division of the original tendencies into three kinds: (1) those whose manifestation would be so undesirable that every effort should be made to suppress them, (2) those whose operation is undesirable in their crude form but which are capable of being trained to a higher type of expression (this is called sublimation), (3) those which are definitely adaptable to the present environment and may therefore be freely encouraged. Fighting and vanity we should seek to suppress. The sex instinct, which becomes functional before its expression is permissible in modern society, may be led into a refinement of attitude in wholesome friendships between the sexes, into the glorification of love in chivalry, and into the enjoyment of the beautiful in literature, art, and music. Some writers would make religion an irradiation of the sex instinct. A typical suggestion is the sublimation of the instincts of mastery and submissiveness into leadership and loyalty. Socially valuable instincts like curiosity, gregariousness, love of approval, may by careful training be made most effective in the development of desirable social conduct.

The instinct theory, as developed by the eminent psychologists to whom reference has been made, has had great influence upon religious education. Coe[1] has made much use of the findings of Thorndike. In the attempt to discover an instinctive basis for religion, he appeals to the parental instinct which Thorndike indicates as operative long before the organism is capable of the parental function. The tendencies to fondle small animals and dolls and to be protective to the weak and the sick are regarded as manifestations of this instinct. The careful de-

[1] *A Social Theory of Religious Education*, pp. 121 ff.

velopment of these tendencies is expected to result in ever wider ranges of altruistic conduct. Coe[1] would even find a basis for the idea of the fatherhood of God in this parental instinct. We do not feel that God is our Father by any filial instinct, for the existence of such is denied by Thorndike. Rather, as children exercise their parental tendencies, and thus play fathering, do they come to feel what the doctrine of the divine fatherhood implies. One wonders why so few religions have developed this concept if there is so fundamental an instinctive basis from which it may arise.

The educational significance of the instinct theory is well summed up by Hartshorne:

> It is easy to see how greed, bullying, the tendency to display, fighting propensities, envy and sex interests get children and youth into difficulties. But to be forewarned is to be forearmed, and our educational procedure must make provision for bringing all anti-social tendencies under control.[2]

MODIFIABILITY

The most recent tendency in social psychology is to insist that whatever the native instincts may be, they are so quickly modified by social environment that habit is the only expression of life which we can really describe. Bernard[3] defines instinct as "a specific response to a specific stimulus, the neural pattern or structure mediating the response being inherited." On this view it is evident that purely instinctive conduct is of the simplest character, practically all behavior with which we are familiar being already further developed. For example, parental

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 142 f.

[2] *Childhood and Character*, p. 154.

[3] *Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 126.

behavior is so complex and so varied that it is impossible to think of it in any but its simplest forms as being a specific response to a specific stimulus. The desire of a mother for her child's education is a social development, not an instinctive manifestation. If it were instinctive, it would be inevitable, but maternal solicitude is sometimes of the most tenuous character.

The most fundamental fact about human, as distinct from animal, nature is its modifiability. Long ago at the beginning of human development the rigid instincts of the animal were broken up by the social influences of the human group. Man became man by achieving modifiability. The human infant is so fully equipped to respond to his social environment that whatever instincts he possesses are immediately overlaid by the habits which are formed in social action. The original impulses, urges, and drives remain; but they are so constantly subjected to the varying controls of the social group that they cannot attain the fixity of the instinctive response.

According to this view of original nature, the educator will have to recognize the hypothesis of the fundamental impulses and desires, but he will not be obliged to concern himself with the details of a great range of instinctive behavior. He may base his educational procedure upon the extraordinary modifiability of the human organism. If he can discover how to arrange the situations into which the children and youth will come so that they will react to the physical and social stimuli with desirable behavior, the educator has accomplished his task.

As a matter of fact, practical plans of education have, for the most part, proceeded on this basis. The attempts to get at original nature, and to build upon it a program,

have generally been futile. Contributions to our understanding of child life have come from the study of the children themselves, not of their inherited neural patterns. We want to know how they respond to the various situations which develop, what are their interests, how they move out actively toward new experience, how they may share the best that we have attained, and how we may help them to be creative members of an ongoing society. All this we must learn from study of the way in which the individual develops in the group life. We shall, of course, neither forget nor ignore the elemental drives that belong to him by virtue of his heredity. But seeing these as they operate in the social situations which can be controlled, we shall build our educational procedure upon the experience thus gained.

HEREDITY AND EUGENICS

Two very important questions have not been touched in the above discussion—inherited capacity and eugenics. In the study of any particular child we shall need to know all that we can learn of the abilities and capacities of his forbears. This knowledge may guide us in our experimental endeavors to help him to find his own abilities. The larger question of producing a better race by wise breeding belongs, to this extent, in the field of education, that the best scientific knowledge upon the subject should be available to young people and that the noblest motivation should be developed in preparation for marriage and parenthood.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Go through an accessible file of newspapers for three months and note whether there are in the editorials or in the reports of

speeches any references to human nature. What theory is expressed? Are there any educational or social implications?

2. Go through the issues of a standard Sunday-school paper for a year and note what is said about human nature. Are the statements based on theological or psychological grounds? Are there any educational or social implications?

3. Make a similar study of some popular book on boy or girl life.

4. Read in the *Book of Common Prayer* the office for The Public Baptism of Infants and consider what this implies concerning human nature.

5. Ask three Scout Masters what they understand by "the gang instinct" and what use they make of it. Consider whether the behavior which they are describing is really instinctive. What practical difference would result if it were not regarded as instinctive?

6. What has been your own theory of human nature? Has it in any way affected your leadership of younger persons?

A RELIGIOUS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

One of the most important means of studying the principles of religious education is to ascertain how it has been carried on in any particular case and to observe the results. Each one of us has access to an original body of data in his own experience. It is true that no one can recall his past experience with accuracy, for he has continually reinterpreted it in the light of subsequent experience; but with care it is possible to recover a considerable body of fact about what has happened to ourselves. We have intimate knowledge that can never be secured from another. We can trace in our own lives effects of stimuli to which we were subjected as we can trace them nowhere else.

The student is urged to make a serious attempt at the construction of a moral and religious autobiography. Preferably it should be an entirely private matter. If it is written to be shown to any one else it will inevitably lose something of its accuracy.

The first step would be to reconstruct the objective outlines of one's career—all those facts of place, time, circumstances of birth and early life; the physical conditions of home, school, church, and community; the persons living in the home; and those who con-

stituted the various groups. Parents or friends may assist in securing this external information.

The preparation of the autobiography may conveniently follow the discussions in these chapters. It is doubtful whether the student by the study of his own experience would be able to contribute anything to the theory of human nature. But he may be able to discover a good deal about the way in which theories of human nature have controlled the educational process to which he was subjected. The following inquiries are suggested:

1. Did your parents or pastor or your teachers hold any theological theory that influenced their treatment of you? How far did you understand this, and what effect did it have upon you?

2. Did you ever believe yourself to have a wicked nature? Can you describe what this meant in your experience?

3. Did your family belong to a church which recognized children as members of the church or as the objects of divine grace; if so, what effect did this have upon you?

4. Did your family hold any definite non-theological theory regarding human nature? How did this modify their educational procedure?

5. Did you ever hear any explanation of your conduct as based upon heredity or instinct? What did this mean to you, and what effect did this explanation have upon you?

6. Did you ever think of any tendency of your own as instinctive? What effect did this idea have upon you?

CHAPTER II

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE GROUP

PERSONALITY

The most significant contribution that social psychology has made to education is the concept of personality as achieved in the interaction of the human organism with its material and social environment. General observation, of course, shows us that the child is greatly affected by the persons with whom he lives. Educators have always pointed out the duty of parents and teachers to influence children, to set them good examples. But the process is more intimate and more fundamental than that. Our human nature itself is the product of this social living.

The new-born babe is not really a human being; he is a candidate for humanity. He has a fundamental instinctive equipment not greatly different from that of the lower animals, but he has also the capacity so to react to social stimuli that he will develop human habits. But he cannot develop the human habits without the social stimuli. This is the difference between the human infant and the young of lower animals. The new-born pup is a real dog, equipped with the tendencies to act which belong to his species. These will develop apart from contact with any other canine being. He will be truly a dog when he is grown whether he has ever lived with other dogs or not. Entirely different is the human child. He will never become human except through the stimuli of human society.

He will never know himself as a self except through interaction with other selves. If by some means he were enabled to keep alive for a few years without human contact, his fundamental animal instincts would probably operate to enable him to get food, to defend himself, to find some kind of lair. He would be actuated by certain crude fears, he would experience certain sensations of pleasure and pain, he would growl and grunt—expressions of annoyance and satisfaction. But he would not have human thoughts or human purposes or human hopes. He would never become a person, for personality is achieved by the individual only with his kind. The paradox of social psychology is that man became man by living with other men.

More than that, the human infant will, to a very large extent, develop the kind of human nature of the particular group in which he lives. There are certain great racial differences, but our present knowledge seems to indicate that these are far less significant than superficially appears. The major differences of race are social, not biological. A Chinese brought up in an American family entirely apart from his own countrymen and in the absence of race prejudice (a social and not a biological trait) would have certain physical characteristics of his ancestry but would be essentially American and not Chinese. A child of twenty generations of culture brought up in a savage group would be a savage.

The modifiability which makes possible the personality also involves to a very large extent the determination of that personality by the group. This might seem to be determinism indeed and to be disproved by the very variety of human society. If the group absolutely made the

individual, would not the product be static? But the group does not create personality; it makes the development of personality possible through the interaction of itself with the new candidate born into its life. And personality is creative, self-directive, initiative. It reacts in turn upon the group, challenging its life. This continual interaction makes the possibility of social progress.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

There is much discussion among us as to the comparative importance of the individual and society. Does the individual exist for society or society for the individual? Some would insist that the individual is only a unit of society, others that society is but an abstraction and no humanity exists except individuals.

In truth there is no necessary confusion here at all. The self is meaningless apart from social relations. What am I when there is taken from me all that body of experience which I have as a son, a brother, a husband, a father, a friend, a citizen, a dramatic rehearser of what men have done in the past, a dreamer of what men may do in the future, yes, and a conscious companion of the Supreme Personality? To be sure, not the totality of these relations constitutes myself. I have a consciousness of personal identity through all these experiences. But I have come to that consciousness and have attained that personality in the process of the social interactions. I am I in and through all these relations; and, bereft of them all and of their like, I never should be I. Moreover, richness of personality develops in social living; the more vital our community the more vital are ourselves.

In the same way society is meaningless apart from its

achieved consciousness in the individual. There is no such thing as a family except in the community of experience of the members of that group. Each member is a family person, and the family is realized as each person realizes familyship. Society is not an abstraction. It is actually going on. It is this common life that we are all living together. It is this buying and selling, giving and taking, loving and hating, agreeing and disputing, employing and serving, teaching and learning, working and playing. A great common life is going on, all of us functioning in it together. It is not like the roll of a million pebbles on the beach, where the beach is itself the mass of the pebbles. Society is that great human co-operation which results from the achievement of relationships between the individuals who are themselves achieving their own personalities in and through these relationships.

IMITATION

What is this process by which the child thus becomes a member of his group? He has the original equipment of a great impulsive activity. In what directions will this energy go? Will the young child of his own initiative find ways of self-expression? Will he think out the lines of action that he desires to pursue? Obviously, such questions are absurd. His energy will flow out first in random movements. He will hit upon various satisfying activities which he will constantly repeat. But the older persons around him are doing interesting things which stimulate him to act in the same way as the other like organism. Trying to do what somebody else is doing is a very agreeable performance. So he learns to walk. It was formerly said that the child possessed an instinct to walk; rather

he sees the upright posture of his elders, which serves as a stimulus to the endeavor to take that position. A little success is encouraging, the whole activity is satisfying, so he proceeds with constant practice to imitate the older members of his society. The experience of becoming a walker like the others, contributes to the development of selfhood, while the walking group to which he belongs has become more definitely unified as such when this newcomer has acquired this group characteristic.

Speech is achieved in the same way. The young child is natively equipped to make cries, grunts, inarticulate babblings. All about him is the speech of his group. While he has no instinct of speech he has some urge toward making noises characteristic of his mood. But constantly there are sounds in his ears that are connected with interests of food and contact and comfort. Associations between the sounds and the desirable situations are set up. Some day he makes a sound and gets a response. He makes another sound and gets another response. This is highly stimulating to practice. By trial and error, by repeated imitation of the sounds that he hears, he acquires more and more the ability to do what the other members of his group are doing. This markedly develops his partnership in the life of the group. He realizes himself in the process and becomes at the same time a cooperating member of his society.

UNCONSCIOUS IMITATION

It is important to note the psychological quality of this earliest childish imitation. As we ordinarily use the word, it implies a certain loss of selfhood as one deliberately tries to be what he is not. If for the amusement of

my friends I imitate someone whom we all know, it is manifest at once that I am not myself but have become a copyist, a mimic. How often it happens that in the endeavor to emulate the great we simply imitate their eccentricities. The young orator will assume the pose of the master speaker; the aspirant actor will take on some mannerism of the star. We call them imitators, with a distinct indication that the term is derogatory. Quite different is the behavior of the child as he acquires the ways of his elders. He plays the rôle of the elder but he is not seeking cleverly to be other than himself. He is quite impulsively and unreflectively trying to be himself. He is exploring, trying out ways of activity. He sees the behavior because it is there to see. As he acquires a new facility, a new muscular co-ordination, a new skill, he so far becomes more definitely a person. To state another psychological paradox, the more skilful his imitation the more individual his achievement; the more he becomes a part of his group the more he has attained personality.

CONSCIOUS IMITATION

There is also a conscious process of imitation which unites the child with the group. He soon becomes aware that there are skills, abilities, knowledges, possessed by his elders which he desires to acquire.[1] In primitive life the boy wants to be a hunter, a warrior, a maker of weapons and tools; the girl wants to possess the domestic abilities of the women. Consciously they copy their elders in order to become thus competent. In preliterate society and before the establishment of the school this is prac-

[1] Bernard regards this as altogether the more important (*An Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 333).

tically the whole educational process. The child becomes a member of the society by the process of living in the society, consciously as well as unconsciously imitating its behavior, consciously as well as unconsciously sharing its life. There is not very much formal teaching on the part of the elders, though there is probably some direction; from the standpoint of the children it is largely a process of imitation.

Ways of thinking and of feeling, as well as of active behavior, are acquired in this fashion. The children pick up the information that is current. They catch the inflections of voice and the gestures that betoken the attitudes of the elders toward persons and things. They share the pride, the anger, the humor, that various conditions elicit. It is indeed a playing of the adult rôle, though, for the most part, the imitation is quite unconscious. So each becomes a true citizen of his society, and the society is enriched and made more significant by the additional experience of its life.

Not different is the earliest achievement of skills, abilities, knowledges, ideas, feelings, in civilized society. Both unconscious and conscious imitation are operating to make our children true partakers of our own kind of life. Not so much what we tell them to do as what we show them in our behavior determines their conduct. The educative process can doubtless direct even the earliest and most elementary experiences, but it can only do so by observing the psychology of the imitating candidate for group behavior.

Social psychology has devised a most illuminating term in using folkways[1] to express all that range of be-

[1] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*.

havior which has been developed in the group life and into which the child grows by this imitative process. That is what they are—the ways of the group—and that is the end of it. There is a way to talk and a way to walk, a way to hunt and a way to fish, a way to sow and a way to reap, a way to dance and a way to sing, a way to build and a way to pray. They are the folkways. As the child lives in an environment in which this behavior is going on he is stimulated to act like others of his species. He may hit upon slight variations, to be sure, but in general he will find satisfaction in behavior similar to that about him. Upon the achievement of the like conduct his reactions will cease. When he finds himself in a different group he feels dissatisfaction with the unfamiliar folkways and does not react to them in imitative conduct.

AUTHORITY

So far we have considered the folkways only as convenient and ever present models to be imitated. That is to say, we have looked at the process only from the standpoint of the child's activity. Looked at from the standpoint of the group, there is the significant presence of *authority*.[1] The group requires that its ways shall be followed. It gives its approval only to the customary, visiting definite disapproval upon any departure from convention. These are the ways of our fathers, and there are no others that are good. So folkways grow into mores. There are things that must be done and things that by no means may be done. These are not laws with defined penalties for infraction. They are the inevitable proprieties. Nobody quite knows what would happen if the mores were violated.

[1] For a full discussion of this principle see Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

Something of this mysterious sanction of the mores exists even in highly civilized life. In the older days of the House of Commons, before Parnell changed its ways, discipline was something sacrosanct. It was always understood that a recalcitrant member could be "named" by the Speaker. But that awful thing had never happened. A Speaker was once asked what would be the result if he named a member. The great parliamentarian is said to have grown pale as he replied, "I am sure I do not know." Perhaps rather unhappily, later Speakers have found out.

There is some difference between this primitive authority and that which has been employed in education. The latter is an imposed authority. The school requires the pupils to do things that other people are not doing. The school prescribes tasks that are quite different from the activities of society. A boy has to learn algebra, although he knows that his father is not doing anything with algebra; and if he seeks parental assistance in his studies, he soon discovers that if the father ever had anything to do with algebra he is now completely emancipated from it. The boy has to read what is prescribed, while his father reads what he likes. The family also has its requirements differing for different members. This is seen in relation to various indulgences. Father smokes, but the boy is not allowed to. The elders drink tea and coffee, but the children are given milk or cocoa. The older children are permitted late hours and various privileges which are denied to the younger.

Very different from these external requirements is authority in the primitive group. It is not exercised by the elders over the younger but resides in the folkways themselves; everybody must do them. Savage parents do not send their children to Sunday school; all together en-

gage in the exercises of worship. The mores are the things that by all means must be done by everybody; and, negatively, there are things that by no means may be done by anybody. There is a guidance on the part of the parents in the required behavior, but it is guidance into conformity with the group practice. This is not the authority of discipline; it is the authority of tradition, of custom; it has a certain inevitability. Imposed authority separates the group into the governors and the governed; customary authority unites the group, as all share the sense of obligation. To the far-reaching educational implications of this distinction we shall return later.

PREJUDICE

When the folkways are violated, there is strong emotional reaction. There may be fear of unknown, perhaps mysterious, consequences; there may be indignation at the effrontery of this breach of convention; there may be horror at the unseemliness (cf. the etymology of "indecent"); there may be contempt for the poor creature who does not know how to behave. The folkways have become mores and they have very definite social value. It is the assault upon the recognized value that causes the emotional disturbance. In primitive society these values are not the result of discrimination and judgment. There has been no such process as that by which many modern states have deliberately chosen their forms of government and many modern churches have deliberately modified their creeds and polities. Primitive groups have their ways which are good because they are theirs. They are therefore prejudiced, in the literal sense of the word, in favor of their practices. Of course a very large range of

our ways are good to us for no other reason. We have not had very much to do with the choice of our dress, our manners, our speech. It is enough that they are ours; we have a prejudice in their favor.

The psychology of prejudice is of the highest importance in the appreciation of the development of the individual in the group. Interestingly enough, the word has a derogatory connotation in ordinary modern usage. We do not want anyone to say that we are prejudiced, but of course all of us are prejudiced to a very great degree. In many respects we can be very thankful that this is the case. Prejudice simply means an attitude prior to judgment, and we cannot afford to wait for judgment in the development of desirable social attitudes. Practically all of early man's attitudes were prior to judgment, for he had only developed to a rudimentary degree those abilities of analysis, comparison, discrimination, evaluation, which are involved in judgment. The folkway is not good because a commission undertook a study of all possible ways and decided upon this one; it is good because it is the way of this folk. A great deal of that primitivity exists among ourselves. A Scottish woman just before Waterloo was expressing her confidence that the Scots would be victorious for "every mon would pray the Lord for victory." When it was objected that the French might also pray, she replied scornfully, "Aye, but who would understand they jabbering bodies?" We speak; other people jabber.

However developed may be our own group in its discrimination of customs and loyalties, it cannot impart to us in our childhood its capacity of judgment. It can give us only the results, not the process by which those results have been reached. The values as they come to us first

will inevitably be prejudices. We cannot choose our speech, our native country, our manners, our household ways, our sense of things right and things wrong, our religion. We are born into them; they are good to us because they are ours.

So the individual gets his prejudices from the group. All those roots of behavior—loyalties and antagonisms, loves and hatreds, admirations and contempts—are in this subtle sharing of the group feeling, the group ways. So deep is the rootage that often it is impossible by any later logical processes to eradicate them. More advanced education is to a very large extent the attempt to help the student to revaluate his prejudices. We shall return to this in a later chapter and endeavor to estimate its importance and its method. We are here concerned to note that prejudice is so fundamental that sometimes it is quite impossible for later rationalization to effect any change. A Jew who had been born in Jaffa of the strictest sect, came to America, passed from the orthodox body into Reformed Judaism, and subsequently gave up the religious practices even of that body as too conventional and out of keeping with the modern world. As a student in the University he took his meals at the Commons, and on several occasions ordered from the menu "spare ribs," a dish that was new to him but which he found to be tasty. A fellow-student remarked one day that he had indeed emancipated himself if he could eat pork. He explained to us that a feeling of horror came over him, for he had not known the character of the meat. An awful disgust seized him as if he had discovered that he was eating some obscene thing. Appetite vanished, and he left the table. He said to us, "Intellectually I see no possible

objection to the dish, but emotionally I shall never be able to eat it again"—a prejudice which even judgment could not overcome.

So the group can make its children its own. More than influence, more than example, it is the sharing of life. Fitting indeed is the new emphasis upon the preschool child. A large part of education is accomplished before the school age. Fundamental feelings of value most difficult to change have already been stirred. The children of a missionary and the children of a government official lived in the same district in India; the former grew up to love and appreciate their dark-skinned comrades, the latter to treat Indians with kindly consideration as inferiors. The children of Alsace learned the forbidden French tongue in the darkness of night and waited for the day of the *revanche*. The writer recalls an incident that happened, before the war was responsible for a vigorous development of patriotic feeling. He was spending a week with a Canadian friend and his family yachting on the St. Lawrence. They would tie up in the evening and have a little concert on the phonograph, closing, as is the British custom, with "God Save the King." The smallest child, seven years of age, went to bed before the music. One evening his mother passed the cabin just as the strains of the national anthem began. She saw the little chap, who had no idea of her presence, rise immediately and remain standing in his bed until the song was finished.

THE EDUCATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GROUP LIFE

We must go back to the fundamental psychology of group life to learn many of the principles of social and religious education. If we are ever to live together and

work together as a great human community, children must learn appreciation of their fellow-men in the earliest groups in which they live. Our treatment of the workmen who come into the house, of servants and helpers, the woman who does the washing, and the man who takes the garbage, our conversation at the table about the employers who tyrannize over us or the employees who defraud us, our discussions of politics, of economics, of race relations—all becomes an atmosphere through which our children see the world in which they live and to whose progress or confusion they are to contribute.

This means that we must educate ourselves if we are to educate our children. If their most significant attitudes are taken over from our own, we must see to it that we achieve desirable attitudes ourselves. For our inmost feelings will be reproduced in those keen young comrades of ours, who imitate us even when they and we think them quite regardless of our views.

Religious education is the continuous remaking of the mores of the groups so that the children may be able advantageously to share its life.

We have here been discussing *the* group. In modern society there are many groups to which the child belongs. The educational responsibility of these different groups and the problem of conflicting groups call for careful later consideration.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Endeavor to find a completely Americanized foreign family, and consider what has become of the foreign ways. Why are the children like their parents and not like their grandparents?

2. When you hear people conversing in a language unknown to you, how does it affect you? Psychologize the experience.

3. Some time ago there was much amusement and criticism when our ambassador to Great Britain attended a court function

in knee breeches and silk stockings. Why did it seem to us absurd? Why does such dress seem natural to the British?

4. Discuss the psychology of fashion. What is its relation to the psychology of folkways?

5. It is often asserted that college students are highly conventional; is this true? How far do any of them dare to vary from the speech, dress, habits, practices, and opinions of their fellows? Compare college traditions with folkways.

6. Does the college student in the process of becoming assimilated to the ways of the college lose or gain the sense of selfhood? Compare this experience with our discussion of the achievement of personality.

7. Many people who have no scientific knowledge of American history are criticizing the textbooks which have been prepared by competent scholars; how far does prejudice enter into this discussion?

8. It is supposed that a Jesuit once said, "Give me a child until he is seven years of age and I care not who trains him after that." What would be the scientific basis of such a statement?

9. Discuss the psychology of prejudice as applied to good manners, correct speech, modesty, honor, patriotism, religious feeling, denominational loyalty, religious faith?

10. What would you say of the wisdom of a parent who decided to bring up his children without any religion, leaving them to choose for themselves when old enough to exercise judgment?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Looking back upon your early childhood, endeavor to estimate what traits and attitudes you acquired by the process of unconscious imitation. A little girl used the same disciplinary methods with her dolls which her mother had used with her. Do you recall any such practice in your own experience? What did that mean in the development of your personality as a member of your family?

2. Endeavor to recall your earliest attempts at conscious imitation. What skills or abilities did it enable you to achieve? Try to estimate the extent to which you entered into the life of your family by this means.

3. Make a list of what you would consider the folkways of

your early group life. Trace the psychological processes by which they became your ways.

4. To what extent did the authority of the group make you a conformist in the ways of the group? How far was it the authority of tradition and of custom rather than of discipline?

5. Endeavor to recall the prejudices which you had developed by twelve years of age. Divide them into four groups: (*a*) those which now seem to you to have been socially desirable and which have continued to be regulative in your life, e.g., a sense of honor; (*b*) those which were somewhat crude as they came to you but which were fundamentally valuable and have since been refined, e.g. a somewhat bigoted loyalty to your own sect; (*c*) those which were socially undesirable and which you have been obliged to overcome or which now affect you unfavorably, e.g., a contempt for other races; (*d*) those which are indifferent, e.g., preference for certain kinds of food.

6. Endeavor to locate the responsibility for the prejudices just listed as between the home, school, friends, companions, church. Note any outstanding personalities who greatly contributed.

7. Consider your present attitude on the following subjects: the negro, the Japanese, the German, the British, the Jew, the Republican party, the labor union, the Roman Catholic church. Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Baptists, Episcopalians, Unitarians, smoking, dancing, gambling, foreign missions, prohibition, the silk hat, slang, Sunday baseball, sauerkraut, afternoon tea, Paris; how far can you trace any influence of childhood prejudice?

8. What educational principles would you deduce from your own experience in the development of prejudice?

P. 72 "Habit."

CHAPTER III

HABITS AND IDEALS

MORALS AS GROUP HABITS

Morals are fundamentally group habits. We do what our group expects of us. If we belong to several groups, as is inevitable in modern complex life, we may accept loyalty to one group over against another, giving only lip service to the latter.[1] The group whose praise and blame really affect us will mediate to us its own habits. We must live with those with whom we want to live. We cannot endure their scorn or condemnation, still less their withdrawal. The terrible punishment inflicted by school boys of utterly ignoring an offender illustrates the inevitability of accepting the standards of the group.

Historically many of the group habits developed through chance and accident, but many of them contributed to social welfare. Whenever the latter was the case, the sense of the value made the habit more significant. Group habits are not necessarily evaluated, but when such evaluation takes place it enhances the meaning of obligation. Bishop Whipple of Minnesota used to tell a story of his young missionary days which illustrates this character of morality. He was about to start on a tour with his Indian guide and was concerned about leaving his belongings in the unguarded wigwam. "Oh," said the

[1] We are not concerned at this point to consider all the possible ways of reacting in different groups. These will be discussed in chapter vi. We are here noting the psychology of the dominant group.

Indian, "there is no danger of their being stolen; there is not a white man within a hundred miles." This does not mean that Indians are more honest than white men but that morality operates within groups. The whites did not constitute a group; their sense of solidarity had been lost; the old tribal unity in which had been developed the value of personal property, which must not be violated *within the tribe*, no longer existed. The incident illustrates the manner in which socially significant morals actually develop together with the contempt for those who do not observe them.

DANGER OF MORAL PRIGGISHNESS

There is significant educational implication here. The earliest groups in which the child lives give him the conduct models that will become his fundamental moral habits. It is desirable, at least at first, that these may be altogether positive and free from contrast with the opposite types of conduct. But in our complex modern life this cannot continue very long. It is inevitable that the group shall show to its children not only the ways of acting which are desirable but also, in contrast, those of the contrary kind.

A little girl was walking with her father along a street where some flower beds were planted near the sidewalk. Just ahead of them were three boys, who seized some of the flowers, pulled them up by the roots, and in sheer wantonness destroyed them. "Why, Dad," she gasped, "we would not do that, would we?" There was a definite sense of impropriety. Clearly it was not a mere blind group habit, for the beauty value of the flowers was in the child's mind. However, the form of the expression is significant,

suggesting the possibility of an incipient pharisaism: we are not as other men, certainly not as these rude boys. This sense of moral superiority must be mitigated. Some explanation of the thoughtlessness of the boys, some suggestion that their attention had not been called to the beauty of the flower beds, might have been well. But after all, it will probably be necessary to train our children to feel that whatever other folk may do, our kind of people do not do these vulgar, destructive, wicked things. The children must see that there are higher and lower standards, that good conduct is superior to bad. Moral priggishness is by all means to be avoided; contempt of others is of course most undesirable; but scorn of base conduct is not undesirable.

There was something in the old *noblesse oblige* that we must learn to develop in our democratic society. An American schoolmaster, visiting one of the great English public schools, was struck by the absence of lockers in the gymnasium. He saw sweaters, cricket bats, and tennis rackets hanging on pegs. He inquired why there were no lockers and whether things would not be stolen. His English friend looked at him in surprise, "How could the things be stolen? These boys are gentlemen." They belonged to the group which would scorn such base conduct. They might have many immoralities, but they would not steal. This attitude is not necessarily aristocratic; it can be taken over by a democratic society, as indeed we are trying to democratize the concept "gentleman." Happily in America we have no antonym of this word. We are not seeking to develop a superior gentleman class, but gentlemanly conduct in contrast with the opposite kind. We must point out the undesirable conduct but we must

endeavor not to use opprobrious epithets. We do not want to be superior to other people, but to the base conduct of which we are all in danger of being guilty. So when the Scout Law reads, "The Scout is truthful," it does not imply contempt for the liars outside the Scout ranks, it simply proclaims the habit of the Scout group.

MORAL IDEALS

So far, we have considered the development of customary morality as handed down in the conduct of the members of the group. There is, however, a further opportunity of moral achievement which grows out of the imagination. From the raw materials of action may be built up in imagination other types which may seem better than those presented in real life. One of our American Indian students tells us that there is employed in his tribe the story of the generous hunter who, after returning home with the deer he had killed, divided the meat with his unsuccessful neighbor whose family was without food. This was not commonly done; it was not one of the group habits. It is told in the tribe as indicating admirable conduct surpassing that which is required. Thus arises the difference between the *ought* and the *must*, that is, the *ideal*. *An ideal is an imaginary conduct model representing more than usual behavior and requiring some effort to follow.* Different from the group habit which is carried out as a matter of course, the achievement of the ideal is a conscious effort, involving, therefore, emotion, which gives it added force. An ideal person is one whose conduct seems better than that which is common and who thereby summons us to moral effort.

This power of imaging conduct, foreseeing conse-

quences, and realizing the desirability of such behavior, is of the highest significance for moral development. In ordinary life we might never see very much that is admirable, or we might have to wait long for a significant conduct model to present itself. The ideal makes it immediately available. This operates in two ways, concretely and abstractly.

CONCRETE IDEALS

In the ideal concretely conceived, the imaginary conduct is actually performed by the imaginary person. We see this most simply in the story, and then in its developments into epic, idyl, drama, novel. The literary treatment of human experience enables us to see the play of human passion, the consequences of conduct, and thus to add these imaginary persons to our group and multiply the conduct models which may affect us.

In biography we have the tale of actual conduct; yet again it is ideal, for we do not care for biographies of common folk, but only of those who have done admirable things. First, it was the oral story of the heroes sung by minstrels, told by the old men about the camp fires. So the group enlarged itself by keeping its great dead as ever living members, and so it added to the models of behavior those glorious deeds which were the best that the tribe had known. Literary biography has preserved for us the greatness that human nature has achieved, holding it ever before us for our inspiration and our hope.

Dewey makes of this idealizing process another form of imposition by the group upon its helpless youth:

> In moral matters it is assumed that it is enough if some ideal has been exemplified in the life of a leader, so that it is now the part of others to follow and reproduce. For every branch of conduct,

there is a Jesus or Buddha, a Napoleon or Marx, a Froebel or Tolstoi, whose pattern of action, exceeding our own grasp, is reduced to a practicable copy-size by passage through rows and rows of lesser leaders.[1]

This seems an unfortunate belittling of a great educational process. Do we not play the rôle of the heroes of whom we read? and may not that dramatization inspire us to heroic action? The writer recalls a young Harvard student who told him that he had read Charnwood's *Lincoln* and had been so impressed with the moral power of the hero that he had seemed to go through his daily life thinking as Lincoln thought and doing as Lincoln did. Then it occurred to him that that was what was meant by Christian living, so he read the story of Jesus in the Gospels and was again inspired with the ideal. He asked if he were right in thinking that he had come into a religious experience. Of course he had come into the very heart of it, and was repeating the experience of Paul: "For me to live is Christ." Here were conduct models, not indeed to be slavishly copied, though some men have done that, wearing sandals, rejecting marriage, declining to be sworn. But the great souls have more often liberated the souls of their disciples, enabling them to do and to dare in their day and for their generation as the great examples had done for theirs.

It may not be out of place to insert a pedagogical parenthesis. As noted above, the story of the past is only properly studied when it is mentally dramatized. If that is to be done adequately, there must be a recovery of the social conditions of the past, an appreciation of the problems which the actors faced, an identification of the mo-

[1] *Human Nature and Conduct*, p. 65.

tives by which they were actuated. Literally, one must be able to play the rôle of each of the actors, realizing why he behaved as he did. Thus in imagination we stand beside the great ones of history and solve with them again their problems. Surely this is not to have the past imposed on us. It is to live in this expansive experience and to be stirred by the great motives which affected the heroes whom we admire. To be sure, admiration is not morality. We know that it is quite possible to glorify the heroes of the past while failing of even decent conduct in the present. This is, however, partly because the past has not been adequately dramatized. We have not actually felt the play of forces. Everyone is ready to applaud the conduct of the apostle Paul as expressed in the letter to the Galatians. But let the real circumstances be recovered. Paul's enemies were declaring that the Bible is to be accepted literally, that the terms of salvation as there laid down are irrevocable. Paul replied that God continues to reveal himself beyond the Bible (that is, the Old Testament, which was all the Bible that existed; and neither Paul nor anyone else dreamed that there would be a New Testament) and that spiritual experience is the final guide, spiritual liberty making all sacramental restrictions inoperative. One may deny the interpretation, but he cannot accept it without committing himself to the type of conduct involved.

However, the historical dramatization of the past will not of itself secure right conduct. We must have a developed pedagogical technique for the teaching of ideals, including opportunity for practice and for carrying over the ideals into conduct.[1]

[1] W. W. Charters, *The Teaching of Ideals.*

There is much discussion today of the place of the Bible in religious education, and there is a tendency to confine that place to the contribution which its stories and specific teachings may afford to the solving of present-day problems. We shall return later to a consideration of this question, but may simply note here that the Bible is one great source of ideal behavior, that is, the kind of behavior which kindles our imagination by showing to us conduct more glorious than that which ordinary life affords. The splendid religious interpretation of patriotism by the prophets is not to be secured by selecting verses from their writings illustrative of modern conditions, but only by taking the pains to relive the momentous history of Western Asia from the ninth to the fifth centuries B.C. If it be objected that we have too much to do to understand America in the twentieth century, and why should we care for that long forgotten story of the struggling Hebrews, the only answer is that wherever humanity has been magnificent it is worth while for us to recover the circumstances of its glory.

Doubtless there is much of the Bible that we shall not care to give to our children. There is no more reason why the complete body of Hebrew-early Christian literature should be put into their hands than the complete literature of Greece. We edit the classics according to the interest and social experience of the students. We shall edit our religious classic caring only to open to the young people the way to the appreciation of the ideals which will be significant to them in their developing life today.

Our educational obligation is to give the young people the largest opportunity of finding interesting activity in

the people who have greatly achieved for human good: the pioneers; the inventors; the explorers; the tireless, patient, vigorous men who have made the world what it is. And they are not all in the past. Religious education ought to be gathering its material fresh. How little we have taken advantage at this moment of the epic of Everest. The story of that adventure to climb to the top of the world, the determination, the heroism, the fine comradeship, the consideration for the coolie who must not be sacrificed, is fascinating, thrilling, and full of noblest suggestion from the first careful, scientific plans for the expedition up to that final moment when to the watcher eagerly looking from the highest camp below, the glass revealed two figures still painfully climbing within a few hundred feet of the peak till the clouds fell and the story was left unfinished forever. The world is full of such great human activity, yet we leave our children in their eager search for what is big, moving, thrilling, to satisfy their interest with the crude tales of bullies and criminals, whose conduct genuinely portrayed would reveal its utter meanness.

The stories of great living must be graded to the experience of the children. The noble achievements of prophets, preachers, missionaries, social reformers, will not be experiential till there is appreciation of the conditions which called these men and women into action. We have sometimes been so much concerned to give our children religious biography, particularly biblical, that we have not sufficiently considered that the conduct of the hero must be such that when mentally dramatized it will be of the sort that the child can experience as significant.

Instead of undertaking to balance biblical and so-called "extra-biblical" material, let us be concerned only with what is experiential.

ABSTRACT IDEALS

So far we have discussed the ideal as it is concretely presented in human life. But the abstract ideal has also a significant function. A child sees a man jump into the street to save a person from being run over; he hears the act admired and characterized as brave. Presently he has to go to the dentist and is told that he must be brave; valiantly he endeavors to bear the pain. He learns the story of the early settlers, and notes how often they were brave, bearing hardship, facing peril, helping one another in difficulties. Here, then, is a type of conduct highly esteemed in his group. He gets a certain generalized notion of what bravery means. Courage has become an ideal. To modify our definition, it is an imaginary character trait, representing more than usual behavior and requiring some effort to follow. Not everybody is brave; it is not just a habit of the group; it is something better, finer than common behavior, but it is good and worth the effort to achieve.

Having set up bravery as an ideal, it becomes a standard of judgment: would this be a courageous thing to do? Some years ago there was a story of a little lame boy who had a tremendous admiration for a young English officer who had won the Victoria Cross. Pathetically he realized that he could never do courageous deeds. But the V.C. showed him that he too could be brave; and together they formed a society of "Poor Brave Things."

The ideal carries its motivating power into the larger

area by the extension of the concept. Thus a child who has done wrong learns that it is courageous to admit his fault. By careful analysis of a concrete situation he discovers that instead of it being a daring thing to tell a lie, it is really cowardly. Thus his bravery ideal helps him to avoid the falsehood.

It is, of course, important to recognize that the mere use of a common name for different acts does not identify them in experience. Bearing pain without crying and frankly facing a fault are not similar acts, nor does calling them both brave make them similar. But in each case you meet the situation that has to be met without flinching, without trying to escape, without asking for pity. This common element has been recognized in the use of the common term. The popular identification is justified. The child recognizes it himself as he experiences the hardness, the effort, the success of doing the hard thing. He finds that it *is* brave to bear pain, and that it *is* brave to tell the truth.

Coe objects to the process of teaching virtues—truth, industry, generosity—holding that the essence of morality is in personal relations and not in these abstractions: "Our concern is not that the pupil should possess virtues, but that he should have virtue, that is, strength in right causes."[1] But we are thinking of ideals as conceptions of ways of acting toward other people and in social situations. The abstract name for the ideal is more than an item in an ethical vocabulary—it is a standard of conduct. If Coe means to insist that the conduct must always be viewed in its social consequences, well and good.

[1] "Virtue and the Virtues," *Religious Education*, VI (1911), 486 ff.; *A Social Theory of Religious Education*, p. 196.

Let us be sure to include that in our discussion. It is brave to save the person in danger because of the value of the human life; it is brave not to cry, because that makes it more difficult for the dentist to do his work and makes other children less willing to have their teeth preserved; it is brave to tell the truth because that prevents others from being implicated. But the point remains that this social ideal embedded in the particular concept of courage becomes regulative for action and one asks himself in a given case, "What is the courageous thing for me to do?"

There is surely an advantage in analyzing the desired "strength in right causes" into its component elements. I must be brave, truthful, industrious, honorable, generous, in right causes, as one or the other form of activity is called for. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control." Why may not these be the ideals of life, arrived at by the process of discovering common elements in the desirable conduct that is going on in the world and identifying these as ideals?[1]

THE RELATION OF HABITS AND IDEALS

Habit is achieved social relationship, ideal is the better behavior still sought for. Habit is the area within which we are morally competent; the ideal is the unconquered area which we are trying to make our own.

The old ethical question is suggested: "Which is the better man, he who is good without striving or he who is striving to be good?" If we may use the method of Jesus and draw a parable from a different field, without being

[1] For a full discussion of the subject see Charters, *op. cit.*

supposed to pass a moral judgment upon our analogical material, we may take the parallel of American expansion. When the first colonists established their settlement, there was a small area of peace and a narrow frontier of conflict. As the country grew, there developed a larger area of peace, but there was still a frontier of conflict. Which was the better condition, the area of peace or the frontier of expansion? Manifestly both are parts of the same process. Good habits are the area of peace; moral effort is the frontier of conflict, for the ideals lie beyond it. He is the better man whose achieved area of socialization is larger and whose far flung frontier of struggling socialization is wider. The moral danger is to become satisfied with the expanded area of peace. The price of righteousness is eternal progress.

In moral education these processes go side by side. If the ideal is imaginary conduct more desirable than that commonly practiced, then in a developing group the ideal is ever handing over to habit its achievements. The conduct generally practiced becomes nobler and finer; the ideal becomes nobler and finer still.

That is why Jesus can so mightily be tempted. His area of good habit is so large that great social expansions lie all along its far frontier until he can say, "Man does not have to eat bread; his only absolute necessity is to do the will of God."

The ideal saves habit from pharisaism, which is perhaps the same danger of aristocratic morals which was noted above. Ours is a superior group, we do things better than others, we are gentlemen, we are Christians; but have we a class morality? Do we refrain from stealing from one another because that would be horribly bad

form? Do we attend worship and contribute to philanthropies because that is the Christian thing to do? What about the idea of human brotherhood? What of the ideal of community life? How are we living with people who may not find our particular moralities so easy to perform? These are humbling questions.

We must give to our children our group habits; we cannot help that. But we never want them to be satisfied with what has been attained. We share with them the nobilities of the great souls of the past, imaginary human experience afforded by literature, the best that the world is manifesting today. Then with them we shall seek to construct an imagination of conduct more desirable still, the fairer, more friendly ways to live with other folk; and these ways will be our ideals.

THE IDEAL PERSON

The psychology of the ideal takes us to the heart of religion. God is the ideal person, whose conduct is all that is good and who summons us to moral endeavor. He is the imaginary person, not in the sense of unreal, but as the construct of our imaging ability. Leuba and many other psychologists would tell us that gods are indeed the product of this imaging ability, that men made gods to suit their needs. But it is open to religious faith to believe that God is in us, making himself through us to suit our needs.

The Ideal Person is a member, the greatest member, of the group. His approval is infinitely valuable. Ordinarily that approval is coincident with the approval of the group; but in the case of the man of ideals, the prophet,

the religious genius, there is developed a sense of right, different from that of the group, which is conceived to be the will of God, and then the approval of God outweighs all others. Again it is open to anyone to say that we ascribe to God the social ideals that we have ourselves achieved. Of course we do, and the validity of the ideal in social experience makes us all the more sure of God. That is why the prophet could say, "Thus saith the Lord."

Children easily understand the Ideal Member of the group. Stupid pedagogy may make him the great detective, the harsh judge; wise pedagogy will present him as the great helper who sees all and understands all. Children will desire then to please God. The ideals will be the kind of conduct that God desires.

To the religious faith of some of us this great ongoing ethical idealism is more than planetary; it is cosmic. We dare to believe that it is God. And it does not seem to us to be less God because we see its psychological process. If God is real, would we not inevitably see him in the psychological analysis of human consciousness?

We do not then violate philosophical propriety when we give to children the anthropomorphic, or rather anthropopathic, God of Jesus. Doubtless it is symbolic. God is more than any analogy that Jesus used, but he is not less. It is true as far as it goes. How much farther reality may go we cannot tell. Our God experience grows with our social experience. We have ever a greater God. But it is wonderful to believe that he is here, that these ideals have some relation to reality, that the simple faith of children who find God helping them is justified by the great faith in a moral universe, and that, after all, our

supreme striving is to achieve that good will which is to be the blessedness of humanity and which is the will of God.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Enumerate the general types of morality in your community which may be considered to be group habits. Why do the people observe these?

2. Why is duelling practiced in France and not in America?

3. Do the most socialized persons of your acquaintance rigidly observe the speed laws? Give a psychological interpretation of your answer.

4. What is the moral effect of telling children that they must not associate with certain other children, whose habits we disapprove?

5. What was educationally wrong with the "goody-goody" story?

6. Examine the Sunday-school lessons used in a single class for a quarter, and determine the significance of the ideals thus presented.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Endeavor to recall your early moral habits, and consider whether they were derived from your family. Were there any practices in your home or your church which differentiated you from other children? Did you have feelings of superiority because of these practices?

2. Do you recall any sense of family honor or obligation to the code of your group that in any way determined your conduct?

3. Did any of your family or teachers exhort you to conduct which they did not practice themselves? What was the effect in your experience?

4. Do you recall any ideal person in history, biography, or fiction who influenced you? Endeavor to describe minutely the nature of the influence?

5. Were the imaginary personages presented to you of the nature of copy-book patterns or were they vital and challenging?

6. Do you recall any influence upon your conduct of the biblical ideals?

7. Do your reminiscences contribute anything to the problem of the significance of abstract ideals in determining conduct? Particularly consider how early any such influence occurred.

8. Endeavor to recover your earliest experience of God. How did it come to you? Was the early anthropomorphism a source of later confusion? Can you think of any way in which this might have been avoided?

9. Did the God experience of your childhood have any effect upon your conduct? Make a very careful endeavor to discover the facts.

10. On the basis of your own experience, what would you teach children about God?

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AS FOLKWAYS

THE MEANING OF RELIGION

Religion is a universal experience, emerging when the group, in its search for satisfactions, reaches out for help to the best that it knows and that it dares to believe. But religion is always particular in each group. It is *a* religion. For them it is their religion, the outgrowth of their own cherished traditions. In that religion their children are inevitably educated.

For the practical purposes of religious education, therefore, we are concerned with the ongoing experience, enterprise, and faith which are religion to us. The contact of our children with religion is with the religious ideas, attitudes, conduct, institutions, of some particular religious group. In the early experience of children, and to no small extent throughout life, religion is a body of group habits. It has its higher manifestations in the nobler experiences, but fundamentally, and particularly for children, it belongs with the folkways. It enters into the child's experience as the folkways enter, producing certain inevitable and characteristic prejudices, that is, emotional attitudes and predispositions.

TYPICAL RELIGIOUS GROUPS

We may take a few typical cases of religious groups and consider what they mean for the young people who grow up in them. Let us begin with what may be called

an evangelical Christian group. Here will be some very definite ideas regarding the will of God in human life and of the necessity of some proper relationship to God to effect eternal salvation. There will be a certain range of religious expressions of a predominantly non-ritual character. Private, and perhaps family, prayer will be observed. The Bible will be held in great reverence. Sunday will be a day with some special sanctity, and church attendance will be held very important. There may be a certain sobriety of speech and of behavior on Sunday. Some kinds of amusement may be regarded with suspicion, while the inhibition of some types of impulse may be strongly advocated. There will be some very definite sanctities, with appropriate reverence toward them. Certain kinds of sin will be held in particular horror, and there will be a corresponding regard for the opposite virtues. There will probably be a fervent devotion to the doctrines, practices, and worship of the particular sect, with a strong prejudice against different doctrines and practices, particularly evident in antipathy to Roman Catholicism. There will be times of high emotional experience when God, Christ, salvation, and immortality become very real and infinitely worthful. To those who live in that group, religion is this perfectly definite set of ideas, habits, experiences, with the motivation which these supply for social conduct. Only confusion can result from an attempt to regard it as anything else.

Consider the Quaker household. Here will be found a very marked belief in the presence of God in human life and of the accessibility of God to the human spirit. Religious expression will be without formal organization and will be regarded as spontaneous. Opportunities of

meditation will be provided. The fellowship of devotion will be evident. The group will be characterized by marked decorum—gentle speech, quiet ways, the inhibition of rougher and ruder impulses, serenity, reverence, charity of language, and charity in gift. There will be deep loyalty to the ways of religion combined with simplicity in its practice. There will be definite feelings of dissatisfaction with anything formal and pretentious, and quite possibly a markedly evident feeling that theirs is the only pure and spiritual form of the Christian faith. The mystical experiences of the Quaker are of the deepest value to him. They seem of so great worth that nothing else the earth affords are comparable with them. He who has grown up in such a family or in such a religious group will be powerfully affected by these ways of his folk. They will constitute religion for him. Evidently all those reactions which we have discussed as arising in group life will be manifest with regard to this religion which is so vital an interest.

At the opposite extreme is the Roman Catholic family. Here is a vigorous conception of the supernatural realm above us. God, Christ, the Virgin, the saints, are very real factors in human life. The church bulks large in the consciousness of the group as a divinely ordained institution. Religious expression is highly ritualistic, and inevitably so, for the prescribed forms have objective value. Devotional exercises are very important—confession, communion, attendance at mass. While certain moral duties are stressed, religion is emphatically a great department of life calling for special reverence. A Roman Catholic boy said to a schoolmate who was an attendant at a Presbyterian church, "You don't go to church; that

is not a church; you laugh and talk in that building." There may be a marked anti-Protestant attitude. There will certainly be great deference to ecclesiastical authority, intense loyalty to the Catholic organization. In the great dramatic presentation of the mass, in the festivals on the high days of the church, often in the experience of confession and communion, the Catholic may be deeply stirred. His emotional reactions will be to him a validation of his faith.

These may do for examples. A similar analysis might be made of families whose religion is Episcopalian, Unitarian, Christian Science, Mormon, Jewish Orthodox, Jewish Reformed, etc. These are the religious folkways in which our children are growing up. Not religion in the abstract, not religion defined on the basis of the practices of primitive groups, and not religion defined as socialization, but definite religions in which millions of people are living in the modern world. Comparison of these conditions reveals that in each group there are (1) certain dominant ideas interpretative of what are felt to be the highest meanings of life and of the universe; (2) certain characteristic practices—the religious ways (when these practices are carried on, the participants regard themselves as acting religiously); (3) certain habits of conduct, including social moralities and prohibitions, which are felt to be obligatory upon religious persons; (4) certain attitudes and loyalties; and (5) certain emotional experiences validating the worth and truth of the religion to the subject.

In the case of many adult members of the religious groups there has been a conscious evaluating process with regard to one or more of these five elements of their reli-

gion. Some have definitely chosen the religious fellowship in which they are because its ideas or its practices are more acceptable to them. But once one has become identified with the group, its ways are his ways. For the child who has had no opportunity of valuation, the religious ways operate as group ways always do. He takes them on as he takes his speech, his manners, his social practices, his social attitudes in general. He becomes religious as he becomes patriotic.

SECTARIANISM AS AN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

We anticipate the objection: is religion always to be this sectarian matter? are we to engage in religious education with no better result than the propagation of these old loyalties with their superstitions and their antipathies? can we not get at the heart of religion and offer only that to our children? Let us hope indeed that our religious faith will become more intelligent, that our forms of religious expression will gain in refinement, that more and more the social ideals will become part of the religious purpose, that the unity of religious aims and aspirations will be more evident, and particularly that the *odium theologicum* may be abated. But it will be idle to base our discussion of religious education upon anything but the religion which is here—susceptible of change, improvement, let us hope, but here, functioning in the society in which we live. Discussion will go on, fundamentalist with modernist, Protestant with Catholic, high church with low church, union church with denominational church. All this is the clash and debate through which human experience develops and by which social institutions are modified. But young children cannot enter

into these discussions. They cannot wait for their religion until "the reunion of Christendom." Nor can they wait for their religion until they are competent to decide these questions for themselves. They must get the religion of their elders, for there is no other religion to get. This means, therefore, that religion comes to them as the folkways. It is the natural, effective, inevitable way for it to come. We wish our folkways were better; we deplore the education of children in forms of religion which we do not approve. Our remedy must be in the purification and socialization of adult religion.

We do not mean to suggest that early religious education must necessarily be sectarian. Except among the very bigoted members of the various groups, there is a generous recognition of true religion as transcending all such limitations. There is the concept of "the invisible church" to which all earnest souls belong. Children may most desirably grow up with this liberal attitude. But the invisible church has no folkways. It is not definite enough to meet the understanding and the needs of children.

The important fact to recognize at this point is that the psychology of early religious education, and indeed of later religious education also, is the psychology of the folkways. The fundamental principle in religious education is that the growing person shall share the experiences of the religious group. We must begin with the religious groups where they are, and not where we wish them to be. Religious education itself cannot be carried on, save in very exceptional cases, in specially prepared conditions, but must be carried on through the social institutions which now exist. Indeed, religious education has therein

a double task: it must educate the adult generation while it is educating the children. But it cannot wait until the adult change has been effected. The children are here and must gain their religion from the groups in which they live.

THE PRIMACY OF THE FAMILY

Herein is the primacy of the family in religious education. The family cannot delegate the responsibility. Where folkways are concerned, the family is inevitably the first and fundamental educator. Its ideas, habits, practices, and attitudes *will* be taken over by the children. Not its teachings, not its preachings, not the religion which the father or mother would like the child to have, not the religion that is set up on Sunday and disregarded other days, not the morality that is talked about and then neglected, not the piety that is brought out on occasion. These are not folkways but the sophisticated pretenses and hypocrisies of adult life. Children see through them to the real ways that are behind them, and it is the latter which have most effect. But it is important to note that as soon as the sense of educational responsibility leads the adults to endeavor to guide their children into a religion which is not the actual experience of the adults themselves, the folkway situation has become confused and a different psychology obtains.

We must recognize further that the influence of the primary group operates negatively as well as positively. What we do not do is quite as significant as what we do. A father desiring to be fair with his children decided that he would not influence them religiously at all, particularly that he would teach them nothing about God. If possible he desired that the very word should be unknown to

them until they were old enough to think out their religious philosophy for themselves. What he actually did was to give to his children a group life in which there was no God. This carried all the group significance of the absence of the need of God. The a-theism of that family was exactly the same thing in the experience of the children as any atheism.

THE CHURCH AS THE RELIGIOUS GROUP

Next in significance to the family as the religious group is the church. Some are skeptical of the church today. They say: "Why have a religious *institution?* why not make religion coterminous with life? and why not, instead of the church, develop a socialized school that should be the next group after the family to mediate real religion?" Such discussion is doctrinaire. We still refuse to discuss religion in the abstract and insist that we must address ourselves to current experience. Educators are not creating the church, and they are not likely to be able to destroy it. It is a very definite institution in our ongoing life. Millions of people are finding religious satisfactions there. The religious fellowship is of great significance to them. They are in the church tradition, and it has great meaning to them. They support the institution freely with their money; they build costly edifices; they attend its services in greater numbers and with more regularity than they accord to any other function. The church is the organized expression of religion in the community. It is a fellowship where people help one another to believe the things that they feel they surely must believe, to carry on certain practices which they conceive to be important, to achieve moralities which seem to them

of value, to conserve loyalties which they regard as the highest in life. It is not a question whether a great many churches are petty, narrow-minded, formal, uninteresting, deficient in social purpose. The church is here as the community religious institution. We cannot ignore it, we cannot supersede it, we must educationalize it. Its opportunity for the practice of the religious folkways makes it properly, next to the family, the great religious educator.

The church does not always possess this communal character. Sometimes it is only a public meeting to which people go as individuals in an audience to hear music and to listen to a discourse. Then there is no fellowship and there are no folkways. Worse still, it is sometimes rent by feuds, so that all social value is lost. In such cases, the church has really ceased to function: it is no longer a church. If such loss of fellowship should become common, the church would certainly disappear. A large part of the task of religious education is to bring up children in a fellowship of religious devotion and of social activity.

Doubtless an increasing number of persons are finding religious experience outside the church. The traditional ecclesiastical forms of religious expression are not helpful to such persons. It is not here insisted that any of the churches, or all of them together, are essential to religion. We are simply recognizing the patent social fact that religion has institutionalized itself in the worshiping group. Constantly, little companies of people who have become dissatisfied with the church associate themselves together for the expression of their non-ecclesiastical religion, and lo, there is another church.

Indeed, is not something like the church a definite human need? If there were no church, religion would

straightway create one. The school has its own peculiar and unparalleled opportunities of religious education (to this we shall recur in a later discussion), but, after all, the school is for children. There are larger possibilities of adult fellowship with children in the school, but it is essentially an institution of the young. The club and the lodge are for adults of one sex. The community organizations for social welfare, for local improvement, are largely for adults, though here there is great need of including the youth. The church is the one institution of the whole community—not, to be sure, the geographical community as it once was, but at least the community of families; not the geographical parish, but the ecclesiastical parish. In the church all ages, all kinds, meet with one purpose—the development of those supreme values which they call religion.

The church has spoiled this community sense by giving the name "church" to a particular meeting of public worship, calling the rest of its activities "Sunday school," "young people's society," and the like. It has separated old and young so that the higher group values have been lost. The efforts of religious education have been toward a re-establishment of the church and a re-emphasis of its group character. When a vital church is in operation, religion appears as the folkways of the group. The children enter into the tradition, taking on the color, the feelings, the attitudes of what they fondly call, "our church."

Thus the church has often been able to supply the religion which the family has lacked. Young people from non-religious or irreligious homes have found a religious home in the church. As a child adopted into a family may so become part of its life that its group habits become his

by the psychological processes of fellowship, approval and disapproval, shared experience, so the child brought into the church group may come so definitely to share its life that the church religion which is its group habit becomes his habit. He is born again into the religious fellowship.

When we are discussing the developing religious experience of children, the question is often raised as to the children who have not had religious homes or church fellowship; do they not need to be converted? Postponing for the present a consideration of what is really involved in the theory and practice of conversion, it may be said here that what such a neglected child needs is just what he has not had. He does not need a superinduced emotional experience but fellowship in the group in which the religious life is real. Having been outside of the stream of tradition in which religion has come down to us, let us bring him in and accustom him to the ways of religious folk. As a matter of fact, that is what the church has always done when it has been most successful. A young man told us that his family was not religious when, sixteen years of age, he had begun to attend Sunday school. The spiritual ideals there presented met a need in his life. The fellowship of those who were living with this religious motivation captured his interest. When the revival meeting was held, he experienced a conversion. It was a genuine turning away from the non-religious way of life to that with which he had become acquainted in the religious group. The conversion was conditioned on the fellowship experience.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Select several families in your community representing different religious traditions. Endeavor to discover the characteristics of religious life in each of them, and classify these under the

five heads given above. Consider whether the children of these families are taking on the ways of the family group.

2. Make a study of typical churches in your community with reference to their characteristic religious practices and ideas. Classify these under the five heads given above. Consider how these common elements influence the membership. How far does each group seem to have its own habits?

3. A man fifty years of age, who had been brought up outside the church life, became a member largely for the sake of his children. After some years of attendance at the services he found himself still outside the church life; the hymns and prayers meant little to him. He said, "I do not know their language." Make a psychological estimate of the meaning of his expression.

4. It has been suggested that a national system of religious education be built up parallel with the secular system. Would this be an outcome of the religious folkways? Would it accord with the ongoing religious life of today? See Athearn, *Education for Democracy*.

5. What principles of education would you derive from the conception of religion as folkways?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Classify, under the five heads given above, the religious folkways of your own family group. Consider carefully how far they were operative in your own experience.

2. Was there uniformity between the group habits of your family and of your church? What effect did this have in your religious experience?

3. Have the practices of your earlier life made readjustments in religion difficult?

4. Have any of the early loyalties helped you to keep your faith through later readjustments?

5. Write a chapter on religion as folkways, using material solely from your own experience.

6. What scientific definitions of religion seem to be illuminative of your own religion?

7. As a religious educator, what suggestions would you get from the treatment of the previous question?

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIAN IDEALISM

THE HEBREW CHRISTIAN TRADITION

We have seen that the group has its normal habits which are largely shared by its members; it has its ideals which appeal to the more sensitive souls, which are effective in the higher moments, and which are challenging rather than regulative. Religion as group habit has that normal regulative quality. It is shared by the members of the group after the manner of folkways. But religion in its higher reaches is always idealistic. This could be shown by an examination of any of the developing religions. Confining ourselves as we may for practical purposes to our own religion—that is, to the Hebrew-Christian tradition in which we are—we see at once that in its great creative periods it has always transcended group habit and found its meaning in noble social ideals, in deep mystic experiences. Amos and Isaiah denounce the religious mores of their times as utterly inadequate, and insist that Jehovah is concerned with right social relations between men. The Deuteronomic reformers putting their anonymous message into the form of a law book, transform the common law of Israel into a code of human righteousness and love. Jeremiah sees the inadequacy of the mores that are expressed in legal requirements and looks to the day when God will write his law on men's hearts. The nobler psalmists find religion in an utter confidence in Jehovah's goodness, a longing to live worthy

of such favor, and a yearning for the experience of spiritual fellowship with God. To Jesus, all life is religious and all religion is social. The experience of happy fellowship with God and of helpful comradeship with man is not a dual but a single unified experience of love. To Paul, religion is ever aspiration, spiritual achievement, and the ecstasy of moral enablement. The Christian saints have never been satisfied with mere habitual religious practice. They have always seen visions of a better life. Sometimes, indeed, they have despaired of the better life in this world, but they have always believed in an ultimate triumph of righteousness.

THE PRESENT A CREATIVE PERIOD

This religion of the Hebrew-Christian tradition has come again into one of its creative periods. We are making religion anew, as the prophets made it, and as Jesus made it. We are feeling that if religion means anything it means everything. It cannot be a specialized interest or a departmental affair. Evidence of this is seen in the subjects of sermons, the discussions in religious newspapers, the topics chosen by Christian groups in colleges and in churches, the Christian literature that is appearing in such volume, the programs of denominational and interdenominational conferences. An examination of current religious thought and interest indicates that the problems which earnest people are seeking to face in the religious spirit are such as these: the attainment of physical vigor, a healthy and socially sound sex life, marriage as a spiritual partnership, the freedom and progressive self-direction of childhood and youth, wages, industrial conditions, housing, riches and poverty, crime and its consequences,

punishment and correction, race relations, international relations, peace and war. The old religious concerns of missions, philanthropies, settlements, are taking forms of more extended socialization. Public and private prayer are concerned with this wide range of human interest. A new hymnody of human brotherhood is developing. There is a new exaltation of Jesus, not as the redemptive victim but as the revelation of the heart of God. There is a new interest in the Bible as a literature of great religious experiences wherein men found God in their search for justice and in the relations of human sympathy and love.

A marked manifestation of this new religious spirit is the reinterpretation of the phrase so constantly on Jesus' lips, "the Kingdom of God." Men are really believing that there might be a reign of righteousness and peace on this old war-scarred, passion-ridden planet. The apocalyptic messianism of the New Testament has become for the modern church the beautiful symbolism of the victory of social righteousness. To be sure, there are Christians who suppose that the ardent expectations of the imminent return of Jesus in the flesh are still to be fulfilled. But the great concept of the victory of Jesus means in the enlarging thought of intelligent Christians today that his spirit of love is to conquer selfishness and meanness and to give us a human society in which we can all live, and work, and play, and worship together. Doubtless with many people this is a sentimental dream, or at most a wistful longing for something so remote that it cannot call for any definite action on their part. But to an increasing number of religious men and women it is the most fundamental philosophy of life. It means that our society must

be brought under scientific criticism, that every phase of our economic and political, as well as our educational, family, and personal procedure, must be brought to the test: does this promote the general well-being; if not, how can it be modified and improved? We are becoming keenly alert to that summons of Jesus": Do not look into the heavens for the Kingdom of God; I have already begun to live as if social relations were what they ought to be; come with me and we will make true what we pray for; the Kingdom of God is among you."

ITS SOCIAL THEOLOGY

This great movement has its own theology. Spite of clearly felt philosophical difficulties in the concept of God, especially the concept of the Absolute, there is a widespread faith in a Spiritual Ongoing, a Righteousness that is more than ourselves. Many have definite sense of the purposiveness of the universe. A vital and inspiring conception is that this great social evolution which we are now consciously engaged in furthering is to be regarded as a divine-human enterprise. God is seeking to bring about a human society on the earth; he is inviting us to join him in the endeavor; we are partners, therefore, with him, seeking that will of God which is the social ideal. And still to many of us Jesus' experience of the ultimate meaning of the universe is the most satisfying. We dare to believe that he was not mistaken in his faith, that a fatherly goodness is concerned with our welfare now and forevermore.

Large numbers of men and women who make such interpretation of religion as is outlined above are seeking to vitalize it to themselves and to others in the supreme

act of worship. They are using the old symbols and the old sacraments, for they feel a continuity with the great souls of the past. They know that the suggestion of a completely new religion is nonsense, that the religion of the future is not something to be made by philosophers who will bring us the best out of all faiths—syncretisms are not religion. The religion of the future is already in ferment among us; and it has not lost continuity with the religion of our fathers. If we consider the religion of Christians, it is evident that millions of those who have found a new meaning of their faith in the social idealism that has revitalized it regard themselves as more Christian then ever. They call the roll of the great men of the Bible and of Christian history and feel kinship with them in essential thought and outlook, in the same faith and hope and love.

TRADITION AND PROGRESS

Religion as group habit and religion as social idealism are alike natural for religious education. Education, as we are conceiving it, is always concerned, on the one hand, with helping youth to adjustment with social life and, on the other hand, with helping them to be creative in social advancement. To be competent, happy, and efficient in the great religious tradition—that is, to become a good churchman—is one proper outcome of religious education. But to share the highest ideals of the noblest spiritual leaders, so as to become a creator in the whole social life, is the more significant outcome of religious education.

These two are not antithetical but complementary. The great prophetic spirits have sometimes seemed to be opposed to the church, but it has really been the orator's

exaggeration for the sake of emphasis. Amos and Isaiah did not wish the sacrificial ritual to be abandoned. They said it was useless because of the spirit in which it was being performed. Jesus never broke with the synagogue, and his last meal was the paschal supper. Christianity built the church out of the synagogue and still sang the psalms of Israel. Christian hymnody was the evolution of the psalter. The most radical religious bodies that broke with the medieval tradition still held assemblies on Sunday, read the Scriptures, sang the psalms, and prayed together. When they were most opposed to the priesthood, they still developed some kind of professional leadership. The religious group always develops its group habits, and there is always continuity with the habits of the past.

However, it must be recognized that large numbers of our leaders in social idealism and in socialized education have lost sympathy with the church. To them the social enterprise so far transcends anything that the church has to offer that they regard the whole ecclesiastical program as futile. So far as the church is becoming socially idealistic, they would say: "Well and good, but why not go at the enterprise directly and all together." To them the church is an outgrown institution. They think that the best things that the church can accomplish, when it is at its best, can be better accomplished by a socialized education which does not concern itself with rituals, sacraments, and worship.

The scientific attitude will save us from confusion and schism at this point. Religious education means education in the religious process that is actually going on. Religious education for the Roman Catholic church must

mean the acceptance of the authoritative system of religion and morals and a socialization within that system. It is absurd to suggest to the Roman Catholic that he cannot educate his children unless he tells them that religious truth and moral duty are to be discovered in the process of social living. He finds these values validated in social living but originated by divine revelation. This may modify the educational process, even to the extent of a complete specialization within the authoritarian group, but it does not thereby cease to be religious education. Religious education for each religious group will mean the habituation of the young people in the *practices* of that group and their stimulus by the *ideals* of that group, for these are the folk with whom they live. As our common religious enterprises develop, and our peculiarities are softened, these habits and ideals will be modified. We can only educate young people in our own religion, not in some common denominator of everybody's religion.

Religious education for those who are in no church group and who are identifying religion with social idealism will mean a non-ecclesiastical education. It would be absurd to say to them that they cannot socialize their children unless they give them concepts of God and Providence and unless they give them habits of prayer and worship. They will have their own habits of group expression and their own technique for emotionalizing their social enterprise. That they are not conducting church education does not mean that they are separated from religious education. It is greatly to be hoped that, on the one hand, the church will not be intolerant of non-ecclesiastical religious education and that, on the other hand, education in social idealism will not feel itself sep-

arated from the educational process that is going on in the churches.

The non-ecclesiastic should be reminded that he is in danger of taking up an unscientific attitude in his very opposition to the church. Education cannot disregard the social institutions that are here. However much we may succeed in developing the school as a social educator, there will still be the religious institution which, as we have pointed out, is becoming increasingly conscious of its own duty as a social educator. If it be intolerant for the churchman to refuse to recognize the religious spirit of the social idealist, it is irrational for the latter to refuse to recognize that religion as a human habit is still largely expressing itself through the church institution. Even if he does not like that kind of religion, he should recognize that it is here and that it is here in a very potent and aggressive fashion. While claiming for himself the right to give to his children a non-ecclesiastical religious education, he should recognize the necessity of church religious education, just because there is a church. Esperanto may be an easier language for all of us to speak than those languages which have come to us from our parents; but the literatures of the world are in the traditional tongues of men, and we shall go on using those tongues. It is not scientific to discredit them or to ignore them. They belong to our ongoing human society. We are what we are because we speak these languages. So we are what we are because we have these religions. Religious education must begin where we are. It must be education in the religions which are now in process. For those who regard education as a training in the ability to criticize and reform the society in which the young people live, re-

ligious education will be concerned with developing them in the critical evaluation of the religious as well as of all other institutions. What this may ultimately mean, no one can foresee. It would certainly be presumptuous to assume that the result of this critical procedure will be the elimination of the church, or even its radical transformation.

The developing sense of religion as social idealism should then be a unifying and not a divisive force in the ranks of religious educators. "Those who are not against us are on our side." Every effort to give social ethics a religious quality and religion a social quality is so much to the good.

SUBJECT FOR STUDY

It is said that William James was asked to define "spirituality." He very shrewdly and scientifically answered that he was not sure that he could define the quality but he could point out a spiritual personality—Phillips Brooks. This may suggest to us a method for securing a working definition of religion.

Select a person who seems to you to be most satisfactorily religious, and then endeavor to discover why you so estimate him. The writer has for some years asked his classes to make a report of such an analysis. There has been an interesting convergence of opinion. It has practically always resulted in the recognition of the significance of the two major elements which we have discussed in these two chapters, namely, group habits of religion and ideals of creative Christian living. Everyone finds religion to indicate a certain quality of the whole life. They think of the person selected as living religiously, by which they mean a unifying of life, a certain victorious philosophy, generally involving serenity and poise. The social conception is always perfectly clear. About 75 per cent specifically mention that the subject is generous, kind, loving, and helpful. Thirty per cent say that he is honorable, just, and fair. If they were asked to check these qualities, probably each would approximate 100 per cent. It is interesting that spontaneously the kind-

ly qualities seem more manifest than the righteous or fair qualities. Probably they often mean to include both, as Jesus did in his concept of love. Ninety per cent specifically indicate that the subject is an earnest, active churchman. It is not a question whether one can be religious outside of the church; but when asked to choose an outstanding religious personality, nearly all choose a person in the church. The institutionalizing of religion has been very clear in the minds of these students.

About 30 per cent speak of attitudes toward God, and another 25 per cent mention faith. Many more imply these attitudes. It is to be remembered that no attempt was made to suggest specifications. However, about 25 per cent do not speak of any relation to the more than human. About 50 per cent indicate that the subject has a vital practice of prayer as a source of inner strength.

As a class faces the question of the type of religion in which it is desirable to educate our children, it will evidently make the most satisfactory definition of that religion in terms of the personalities who represent religion at its best in our own day.

The writer has been accustomed to carry this investigation farther into its genetic significance, asking each member of the class to choose (1) a child of about ten years of age who seems to be developing in a satisfactory religious manner and (2) a youth of about sixteen who would be selected as a typical religious personality for his age. In each case there should be an analysis of the estimate to indicate what elements have led to the decision. It will be found valuable to devote some time to this study as a first-hand contribution to the aims of our educational process.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. What contact did you have in childhood and youth with creative, progressive religious experience? How far did this operate to carry you beyond the formal religious habits of the group?

2. To what extent was your own religious education a socializing experience?

3. How significant has the church been to you in your religious development? Trace this process with some care; include its teachings, its activities, and its worship.

4. What contributions could you make out of your own ex-

perience to the statement that we are living in a creative religious epoch?

5. If you hold a social theology, at what point in your education did it develop?

6. How far do you feel yourself in your most idealistic religious outlooks to be in continuity with the past?

7. What value comes to you from the sense of the religious community which reaches back through the centuries, including "the glorious company of the apostles," "the goodly fellowship of the prophets," "the noble army of martyrs" and "the holy church throughout all the world"? If this means nothing to you, carefully consider why this is the case.

8. What educational implications would you derive from the answers which you have made to these questions?

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION THROUGH SOCIALIZED GROUPS

THE GROUP AND THE GROUPS

We considered in chapter ii the development of the individual in the group and the psychological process by which his behavior is determined. For the sake of isolating the experience, we discussed the reaction of the individual to *the* group, as if he were actually living in a homogeneous social environment. Perhaps there was once a primitive group which was so homogeneous that such simplicity of reaction would obtain, but the conditions of modern life are markedly different. We belong to many groups, each of which has its own traditions, customs, folkways, and mores; each of which expects from us conformity, and exercises such discipline as it may upon those who violate its practice. In adult life a man belongs to his family, to his business, to political organizations, to the church, and to various associations and societies.[1] It is very difficult to be the same kind of man in all of these, for they exert upon him very different stimuli. If his family is a happy one, it calls forth his expansive emotions and generous responses. He may be affectionate and attentive as a husband, kindly and helpful as a father, generous and friendly to his servants. His business may be exacting, complicated by labor disputes and the rivalry of competitors. In this range of his life he may be hard,

[1] Bernard lists sixty-two groups involving enlarging social contacts to which one may belong during life, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 418 f.

unforgiving, arbitrary, and unscrupulous. He is anxious to have a standing in politics, so he is hand-in-glove with the leaders of the machine, winking at corruption, securing favors for himself and his friends, and supporting the administration through thick and thin when his party is in power. He is a good sportsman, meticulously honorable, generous to his opponents, and fair and square in his play. He is a good fellow at the club, telling questionable stories and allowing himself indulgences which promote his popularity. He is an earnest churchman, believing in God, in prayer, in worship, and in the efficacy of religion as the ultimate solvent of all human ills. He supports the church generously, serves on its official boards, and is often a speaker at its conventions.

But is not this the description of a hypocrite? Not at all. A hypocrite is a person who pretends to be what he is not for some ulterior motive—as the man who seeks a reputation for piety in order to be able to sell mining stock to his fellow-churchmen. But the man described above is not exploiting his church membership for gain. When he is in church, he is earnest enough. Indeed, he may even pray that some day it may be possible to conduct business and politics according to the ideals of the Gospel. In the meantime, as he is very clear that that day has not yet arrived, he acts like a practical man in these practical spheres. Belonging to many groups, he is a different man in each group according to its customs and demands. He may indeed be more or less aware of this incongruity. He may even feel that in playing different rôles he is in danger of hypocrisy. He may sometimes wish that he could bring all his conduct to the level of his best self. Yet the difference of the demands of the differ-

ent groups will tend to modify these feelings. The unification of life is very difficult; few people are completely successful in the achievement. Many are quite unconscious of any such necessity, and as they pass from one "Rome" to another they do what each particular set of the "Romans" do.

THE CHILD IN CONFLICTING GROUPS

If this is so largely the case with adults, far more must it be so with children. They belong to many groups. They are actually developing behavior patterns from the group examples. How confusing is the educational process if the different groups have different ways and different standards.

THE FAMILY

Even the family group is not homogeneous, especially in our modern society. The father and mother do not always look upon life in the same way, particularly as regards moral and religious questions. When the little girl of three picked up her father's collar button and, bringing it to her mother, said, "Mamma, here is papa's damn," how could the mother tell the child not to use that word? It may be quite proper for the tired business man to have his game of golf on Sunday morning, but it certainly plays havoc with the Sabbath mores of the family, breaking the group habit of church attendance. Indeed, the reaction of the children to the situation may easily be that church-going, like school-going, is a requirement imposed upon children, from which one may look forward to emancipation when one is grown up.

Again, in the family there is often the older and the younger set: those, on the one hand, who have freedom

and privileges and those, on the other hand, who are limited and controlled. This is a break in the unity of the family habits. There can be no mores unless they are equally binding upon all. If Sunday-school attendance is required of the younger children but not of the older, it is clearly not a group habit. If the college boy and girl do not observe the manners which the parents are seeking to present to the children, those manners cannot have the force of group habits.

There are doubtless advantages as well as disadvantages in these differences of family practice. There is some valuable training in learning to be a junior member of the group, with a certain limitation of privilege. We are only, at this point, calling attention to the fact that, so far as the family is not homogeneous, it cannot make use of the educational technique which comes from group solidarity.

THE PLAY GROUP

However effective the family may be in developing its own moral ways, and however definitely the young child may have taken them on, there is an inevitable difference when he goes beyond the home into the play group. Here are children with other ways of behavior. If the contrast is very marked, the newcomer may be subject to the ridicule of his playmates—of all things the hardest to bear. The child who has been trained to some neatness or elegance of dress or to some fineness of manners upon which he has come to pride himself is rudely awakened by the scorn of his young neighbors, who for their part are proud of their own roughness. It is pathetic to hear a child pleading with his mother to cut off his curls, or to let him wear some different style of dress, on the ground

that the children make fun of him. He has come into another group which has its own folkways, its own expectations, and which is ready to express its disapproval of any deviation from its code with the terrible weapons of jeers and laughter. Naturally, little girls and boys, even five and six years of age, endeavor to conform to the manners of their peers, no matter what may be the ways of the family group.

This is a very vital problem with the peoples who have come to America from lands where the family customs and controls are more exacting than our own. A lady walking behind two little girls of ten, one of whom she recognized as the daughter of the Russian Jewish cobbler recently come to Chicago, heard the American child invite the other to go with her to the park. The little Jewess answered at once, "I will go and ask mother if I can; and if she says I may, I will go with you." Then after a moment's pause she added, "And if she says I can't, I will go anyway." In that momentary pause the child had passed from the Russian ghetto to American life; from the family discipline, inevitable and unquestioned, to the license of street-roving children whose mothers give little attention to their comings and goings. There are vast numbers of these immigrant children who are losing one morality without acquiring another.

THE SCHOOL

The school group has a distinct character of its own. Here are teachers clothed with wisdom and authority, and here is an institutional life with its customs and expectations, which may be quite different from those of the home. Order, neatness, respect, may be the require-

ments—rather confusing and irksome to a child from a family where everyone does pretty much as he pleases. Or, if the school is characterized by rigid discipline, it may be very oppressive to a child from a family where there is happy comradeship and the freedom that comes from common interests and mutual sympathy. The school practice may clash with that of the home in the matter of speech. When the child brings home his more correct English, he may find himself an object of ridicule by his brothers and sisters or even by his parents. The boy who had discovered the proper pronunciation of "potatoes" asked for a second helping of that vegetable at the evening meal, not perhaps without a sense of his own superiority. His father angrily flashed back at him "You'll have to say *taters* if you want anything here." On the other hand, the girl who was learning her first French from a teacher who spoke with the accent of "Stratford-at-the-Bowe" was shown by her father how that expressive language should be pronounced. With a keen understanding of the manners of the classroom, she informed her father that if she spoke French as they do in Paris everybody would laugh at her.

The school and home ought to be in the closest cooperation if these subtle attitudes toward the social values are to be secured. When there is confusion or opposition between the two, the process of moral education is seriously weakened. This often occurs where the school seems to criticize the home. In many states there are laws requiring a certain amount of time to be given to definite instruction on the evil effects of narcotics upon the human system. In the great desire to save the young from undesirable indulgence, some texts in physiology have pre-

sented the most horrible pictures of the throat, lungs, heart, and arterial system of the tobacco-smoker. It is somewhat disturbing to the respect of a child for his father (not to say, now, his mother) when he brings home a book with such distressing pictures of the parental internal condition. This is not the point at which we should discuss the proper teaching of temperance and abstinence; the illustration is only used to indicate how difficult moral education becomes when the customs and teachings of the school run counter to those of the home. For, let it be repeated, group mores operate when there are real group habits, and these habits do not admit of divergence. We may teach through ideals, through rationalization, and by many other means; but we have lost the exceptional opportunity of the group ways when the divergences are so great that one group neutralizes another.

THE CHURCH

What then of the church? When a child goes from a religious home to the church, it may be that those customs and habits which are particularly valued at home are reinforced by the larger group. As in a simpler society there are the same folkways in the family and in the tribal life thereby emphasizing their inevitability, so will it be when the collection of families that make up the church do the same things, value the same things, take up the same social attitudes. A recognition of this significant educational condition is producing more and more a reciprocity between church and home. Parent-teachers associations between church and home are developing. Coe has made the valuable suggestion that the parents of the church families be enrolled on the teaching

staff of the church, so that they would feel their connection with the educational enterprise. Moreover, there are some interesting experiments in co-operation and correlation between the three institutions—home, school, and church. There is no reason why the child should not find the same manners, customs, traditions, social practices, and attitudes in all three of these institutions in which he lives so significantly. We shall never have the most effective moral and religious education until this is brought about. Many students have told the writer that they came from communities where everybody had the same habits. All the families attended the church; all looked upon things the same way. This condition of some simple rural community we must try measurably to work out in our more complex social life.

But the church group may present serious divergences of practice and point of view from the other groups; and, unhappily, the church is not always the more highly socialized. In one of the week-day experiments which regards itself as markedly successful, where the churches of the community have united in the effort and have raised a considerable budget, the classes which are held in the churches are often assigned to the poorest rooms, in some cases to space behind the organ, in others to basements which are littered with papers and rubbish and are far from clean. Whether this is the result of economy or just plain stupid inefficiency, the church has presented to the children a marked contrast from the beautiful, light, artistic rooms of the public schools. The school says to them that education is a process of living in orderly and tasteful surroundings, where all that is best in life may be cultivated; the church says to them that education is carried

on in any old corner that is not needed for some more important program.

Sometimes the church classes are in the hands of incompetent teachers, with the result that the children are rude and disorderly. There have been cases where parents have been obliged to take their children out of Sunday school in the interest of their moral development. No "spirituality," no interest in religion, no supposed efficacy of the church-going habit, can be of any avail if the group habits of the church are not of the same fineness as those of the family or the school.

When the church is the group of the more socialized ways, it is sorely handicapped by the group habits to which the children are accustomed in other relations. A child often finds quite strange points of view and social attitudes as he comes into the church life. The newer methods of presenting home and foreign missions give children a view of other peoples which may be utterly different from that which they receive from their parents and from their playmates. When interesting stories are told about our little Italian friends, our little negro fellow-countrymen, our little Chinese neighbors, in which the fine traits of these people are emphasized, the child is presented with a difference from the familiar talk regarding the despised "Dagoes," "niggers," and "Chinks." The church may not be able to develop a change of attitude. We are only concerned at this point to note the educational difficulty that is caused by the divergence of attitudes.

The serious responsibility assumed by those religious leaders who are opposing the scientific views of world-development can scarcely be overstated. A child of nine

recently asked his father how mountains were made. The father sketched the geologic process in a simple way. The lad replied, "Then the Bible is all wrong about God creating the world." The group that has a magical Bible and a prescientific cosmogony is preparing its children for painful disillusionment when they come into contact with the modern world.

TYPES OF RESPONSE

VARIED RESPONSE

How will the child who finds himself in these conflicting groups conduct himself? Conscious though he may be of the differences, he will not realize the problem of group relationship. As a reacting, behaving organism, he will respond to the stimuli of each separate situation. The simplest type of response will be conformity to the ways of each group. It is not difficult to make the different responses. Thus in the family the child may be quiet and docile; in the playground he may be aggressive and rough; in the school he may be even an interested learner; in the church he may conform himself to the particular group in which he happens to be. Under an unsuccessful teacher he may be a leader of mischief; in a well-conducted worship he may be a happy participant. Parents and teachers are often surprised to come suddenly upon conduct different from that to which they have been accustomed in a particular child. The classic example is the cherubic choir boy who can swear like a pirate in the street gang. That boy is not a hypocrite. He is not pretending to be what he is not in order to save himself from disagreeable consequences or to secure ulterior advantages. He is simply taking on the folkways, the customs, the

mores, of the different groups to which he belongs; and he is finding satisfaction in the approvals which each group accords him. He knows that nobody swears in his family and that it is regarded as wrong; therefore he will not let any of them hear him swear. But if he is to be "a regular guy," he must be able to swear; and if he can outswear the others, he is so much their superior. All this brings applause and satisfaction; he gets the status that is dear to his heart.

While this change of response may not be actual hypocrisy, it seriously interferes with the integration of personality; and the inevitable tendency is for the socially lower type of conduct to become the character trait. The boy just described is a swearer, however much he may have learned to refrain from such conduct in the groups where it is disapproved. The child whose manners are good at home and careless in other surroundings will tend to become bad-mannered. The less exacting and difficult response is likely to become habitual.

RESPONSE TO THE DOMINANT GROUP

The method of the shifting response is not the only possibility. The child as a reacting organism may find one of the groups to which he belongs so satisfying, so interesting, that it is to him the dominant group; it has for him the highest prestige. If he can have status there, he is comparatively indifferent to what happens to him in the other groups. A lad of thirteen who was deeply attached to his parents and strongly influenced by the religious ideals of the church was elected on account of his athletic ability to be captain of the youthful football team. The other boys followed him because of his dash

and daring. But the young captain was absolutely opposed to swearing. He laid down the rule that if there was swearing in the team he would refuse to play with them. He was strong enough to carry his point and to retain his status. But he would rather have given up his football than his principles. In this particular case there was more than group loyalty; there was a definite sense of moral values and a corresponding rationalization of conduct. However, the basal educational process had been the dominance of the family group with its Christian mores.

The psychology of the problem-boy is of the same nature. Popular books and religious leaders are still talking of "the gang instinct" as if there were some ancestral urge that impels boys to herd in groups under their own chosen leaders. The simple fact is that family, school, and church life are often dull and uninteresting, while the street life is free, active, daring, thrilling, and therefore intensely interesting. The little coterie of congenial spirits is so much more vital than the fussy family and the stupid school and the staid church that the approval of its members is of supreme importance. What parents, teachers, and others think becomes a matter of comparative indifference.

ALTERNATING LOYALTIES

Again, the child may sway to and fro, now captured by one loyalty, now by another. Saddened by the disapproval of parents, he may give up the undesirable companions, refuse to go with them to their haunts, and manfully bear their jeering suggestions that he is a "mother's boy." But again some other group may develop in which

the interesting activities go on, and he may long for their fellowship, even though he knows that it will involve conduct that the family considers wrong. This may result in definite conflicts, hindering the integration of personality and interfering with the development of habitual response.

EDUCATIONAL PROCEDURE

The educational principle is to make the group or groups with the highest educational ideals the most impressive and most significant in the lives of the young people. Some parents live with their children, sharing their interests, developing a delightful home to which youthful companions may come, carrying out picnics and excursions and common enterprises, building a summer cabin together, making rowboats and sailboats, and enlarging the group by fellowship with neighbors, older and younger. In such a home the family standards retain their dominance, and no outside gang has any appeal.

Again, the educational group may so help the children to contrast its own customs and manners with those less desirable that the children may freely accept them as superior. A lad of seven was taken by his father to visit an uncle who had a son of the same age. The visiting lad had been somewhat severely brought up with great insistence upon the proprieties of life. The little cousin had been allowed to do much as he pleased. At the dinner table the indulged child seized food as soon as he was seated, clamored for what he wanted, crammed his food into his mouth, and in general behaved himself badly. The visiting child said solemnly to his father when they were alone, "Daddy, I'm glad that you spanked me."

It was clear to him that the ways of his own family were better than the ways which he saw exhibited in the home of his uncle.

The slogan, "Capture the gang," that was used some years ago when the discussion of the gang instinct was at its height, was fundamentally justified, notwithstanding the erroneous psychology of the gang concept. What was really meant was that those who were seeking the religious education of the boys and girls should become their leaders in the many interesting activities in which the young people loved to engage. The great significance of the Boy Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, and kindred organizations is not that they conform to some instinctive necessity of youthful nature but that they are natural groups in which the young people can live zestful lives under inspiring leadership. The psychology of these groups is for the most part excellent. They have their codes, their laws, not imposed by authority, but arising out of the very conditions of the group life and corresponding to the rules of the game. They have their rituals and rewards, their opportunities of expressing group approval, their techniques for conferring status upon the members. Furthermore, these youthful groups are in many cases coordinated with the adult society, as when the members are ushers or pages in a great convention, when they have their part in patriotic parades or pageants, or when they are connected with the school or the church and given a share in public activities.

While the family is of first importance, it is often incompetent to exercise the desirable educational influence. In this case the school and the church must take its place. This is difficult but not impossible. The church may be-

come the dominant group. A child of six went from an unhappy, quarrelsome home to a Sunday school where kindness and reverence were not only taught but practiced. After several years of fellowship with the religious group, the sense of the difference between its beautiful ways and those of her own home became very keen. The longing for a family where love and kindness should be practiced made her a kind of missionary of the Christian life to her own people. She preserved her family affection and loyalty, but the dominant social group was the church. We sometimes belittle what can be done by the church which has the children for only a single hour on Sunday. Even in that hour a type of group life can be developed which will be so interesting and satisfying that the children will seek it as their own. Jesus insisted in the parables of the Hidden Treasure and of the Pearl of Great Price that the good life can be so fascinating that people will prefer it to anything else.

In the same way the school may be a group in which the student lives so largely and with such vital experience that its standards and expectations have a high power of control. Unfortunately, the school has been too long regarded as a mere preparatory institution. And this heresy dies very slowly. Within the last year an able preacher spoke to some university seniors about "going out into life." We all want to live, not simply to be prepared to live. The school is not a preparation for life; it is the practice of living. It is the place where living is regarded as so important that ulterior aims are subordinated to the prime achievement of social experience. In what the preacher called "life," a considerable part of one's energy is consumed in making a living; in school, all the energy

is directed toward the experience of living. We shall discuss in a later chapter the acquisition of knowledge as social experience; at this point we are concerned to note that the school may be so vital in its experiential quality that the young people may find it eminently satisfying. That is what is involved in the doctrine of interest as applied to education. It is not soft pedagogy but intense experience. A thirteen-year-old boy attended with his father a Fishermen's Dinner, where the love of the out-of-doors was the theme of the evening. The youngster was himself a good fisherman, hunter, swimmer, and all-around camper. On the drive home a friend of his father asked him if he was sorry that the spring vacation was nearly over. He answered with the utmost naturalness, "Oh, no, I like our high school; they make the work so interesting." That young adventurer was making excursions into history, literature, science, the great story of the past, the beautiful interpretations of life, and the wonder of physical nature. The school to which he referred has a generous program of clubs, games, debates, progressive self-government, frank consideration of youth problems and wishes, and an intense intellectual life. Under such conditions there may be a development of group habits which will become determinative of character.

With the enlarged program of the public school often taking almost the entire daylight time of the children and sometimes many evenings, there is evidently a definite endeavor to become a dominant group in the interests of socialized education. The school is now supervising play; organizing dramatics; encouraging the students in the development of club life, including camera clubs, hiking clubs, and the like; fostering orchestras—in short, be-

coming the center of such a range of interesting activities that there is little room left for the formation of undesirable associations. Where there is a high type of social organization in this group life, there is developed such a sense of "the honor of the school" that its mores become regulative in the life of the young people. Students from homes of poor manners and low ideals often became so effectively members of this school life that the heavy handicap of the family is overcome.

It must not be overlooked that the school may become so dominant in its educational influence that the family and the church are largely prevented from taking their legitimate place in the educational process. The highly socialized school makes up to many children for ill-regulated homes and ineffective churches, but it also interferes with the plans of well-developed homes and with the significant program of well-managed churches.

The importance of the family, the school, and the church is so great that we have discussed their relationship as if they were the only socialized groups. It would be a very incomplete survey that failed to consider the presence of other significant groups in the community. The Boy Scouts and kindred organizations, the junior Christian associations, are socialized groups whose educational influence may be of a very high order. But undoubtedly the very number of them, each making its demand upon the time and strength of the young person, constitutes a serious educational problem.

We must look to such an organization of community life that educational enterprises will not be competitive.[1]

[1] For some suggestions on co-operation between the various institutions, see the chapter on "The Meaning of Curriculum."

The Canadian Christian-training program was a good move in this direction, achieving a unity of school and church and national interests that has not been reached in the United States. An extraordinary loyalty has been developed so that the feeling that one must be true to the ideals of Tuxis or to the C.G.I.T. is often very intense. It is significant that this larger program has generally overshadowed the more limited program of the specialized boy and girl organizations.

While we cannot return to the unity of the old simpler community life we may achieve a higher unity through our very complexity. The community itself may become the socialized group in which the young people may grow up, sharing its life, co-operating in its enterprises, bearing a proportion of its burdens, contributing to the determination of its policies, and enjoying the success of its achievements. The community today makes its total and varied impact upon the young life. We cannot ignore this nor can we meet the necessities of the case by socializing certain areas of the community as the home, the school, the church. Each of these will have its specialized task but we must hold before us the desirability and necessity of socializing the community as a whole. And the children and young people will help us if we give them the chance. They will gain their own education in the very process of co-operating with the elders in making the community life wholesome and happy.

Remarkable results have been secured where boys and girls have been enlisted in social enterprises. There are good experiments going on in cleanliness and beautification, policing and guardianship, fire prevention, and health promotion, "the sane Fourth" and "the sane

Hallo'een" festivals and ceremonials. The hope does not seem very extravagant, therefore, that we could develop a common socialized life, where the higher values would be alluring alike to youth and to adults, and where vulgarity, vice, and selfishness would lose their appeal.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Select a child of ten years of age with whom you are well acquainted, and list all the groups to which he belongs, indicating in general their type and character.

2. Do the same thing for an eighth-grade student and for a high-school student.

3. Consider for each of the three persons thus selected the influence of the folkways of each of the groups to which he belongs, and note whether there is any divergence. For example, what does the family expect in the way of courtesy? Is there any different standard in the other groups? What are the habits of speech of the various groups? How does the family regard people of other races and creeds? Is there any different attitude in the other groups? What does the play group think about "telling tales"? Is there any different expectation in the other groups? How does the church regard Sunday? Is there any different attitude in the other groups? A considerable list of these habits may be made for examination of the problems of conflict.

4. Test the three types of response suggested in the chapter in these conflict situations. Has the author correctly interpreted the facts as your study reveals them?

5. Select a highly socialized family with which you are well acquainted, and endeavor to ascertain how far its habits and attitudes have controlled its members in spite of the influence of other groups?

6. Make a study of the high school in your community with reference to its ability to make its ways operative in the lives of the students. What criticisms of educational procedure in this respect would you make? Can you think of any modifications of its program that would make it more efficient as a dominant group?

7. Consider the habits and attitudes of a church group with

which you are well acquainted. How far does it succeed in becoming a dominant group of such influence that it can offset the ways of conflicting groups? Note, if possible, specific instances in which this effort has been produced.

8. Make a study of a public school which is endeavoring to supervise a large range of the interests of its pupils. List all the activities of the school life, and consider to what extent these engage the available time of the students. Do they so pre-empt his attention as to crowd out undesirable associations and activities? Is there anything in the general code of the school that becomes dominant in the habits and attitudes of the pupils?

9. Does the school just considered have so extensive a program as to interfere with desirable activities of the family and of the church? What possible readjustments could be made?

10. Study a Scout group or some similar organization which is available, and consider how far its influence illustrates the principle of education through the socialized group.

11. Read Davies' *Out of Doors with Youth* and make an estimate of its contribution to the principles discussed in this chapter.

12. Make a study of several boys and girls who have no membership in a church group. Consider whether they are missing anything significant in social experience?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Let it be carefully remembered that the purpose of the autobiography is to levy upon the absolutely first-hand data which is at the command of each of us in order to test the principles that are under discussion. We desire at this point to search our own experience in order to see whether we received any significant education through socialized groups. The following points may be considered.

1. Make a list of the different groups to which you belonged at various stages of your life, say at six, nine, twelve, fifteen, and twenty-one years of age.

2. Consider how far these groups were in conflict with one another in folkways, habits, or attitudes.

3. How did you respond to the various stimuli in these differ-

ent situations? Consider whether the three types suggested in the chapter cover the range of your responses.

4. Was there in your case at any time a dominant group whose ways became determinative in your experience?

5. Endeavor to estimate the total effect of your church life upon your social development. While you may now see the unsatisfactoriness of many of the ideas held by the leaders and the shortcomings of the church in outlook and practice, did it make any significant contribution to your social experience? Would it have been just as well if there had been no church?

6. Can you now see any educational procedure that might have been adopted by your family, school, or church, that would have made any one of these groups more effective in the determination of your responses? It would be interesting and rewarding to make out in some detail a program that could have been set up to which you think you would have responded in the most satisfactory manner.

7. In your case did any one of the educational groups interfere with any other in their attempts to educate you? How might this have been avoided?

8. Consider the community in which you now live and, in view of your own personal experience, sketch an outline program that might be co-operatively adopted which would utilize to the highest degree possible the principle of education through socialized groups.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION AS DIRECTED EXPERIENCE

Dewey[1] has given us an illuminating definition of education as "the conscious, purposive, and continuous reconstruction of experience." Bower[2] speaks of education as "the enrichment and control of experience." Human life is an ongoing process, the awareness of continuity in the process on the part of the actor constituting experience. Education helps this ongoing, opening channels for it, providing material which it may use, tools with which it may accelerate its progress, and opportunities for it to rise to higher planes of movement. But the ongoing is always the experience of the educand, ever making his adjustments to the situations in which he finds himself.

ADJUSTMENT EXPERIENCE APART FROM EDUCATION

While we are thinking of education as consciously directed, we must recognize that there is a great deal of unsystematic direction not controlled by reasoned purpose. Many homes have rules and requirements which are never carefully presented to the child but which do have direction quality. Moreover, even in the absence of education, and by the very process of experiential living, a child would achieve a considerable ability of adjustment. Indeed, has not a keen observer, whose early childhood was particularly rich in the stimuli of the country, cyni-

[1] *Democracy and Education*, pp. 89 f.

[2] *The Curriculum of Religious Education*, p. 35.

cally informed us that at seven years of age his education was interrupted by his being sent to school? He is there using the term "education," not in the more limited sense which implies a conscious educator, but in the general sense of progressive adjustment. And children not so favorably circumstanced as he, will, by the very fact of living in the human world, gain more or less effective control of the situations that confront them. In the absence of any education they will react to the social stimuli of the people around them, make the necessary adjustments to keep themselves safe, to gain recognition, to secure response, and to enlarge their experience (to use the four wishes of Thomas). By the mere process of living with others, learning their ways, developing defense reactions, trying out methods of securing what they want, and avoiding what they dislike, they will gain a considerable social efficiency of a kind.

Novelists with their keen observation of human nature have given us fascinating examples of this type of achievement. Kipling's Kim had received very little formal education, but what a master of social experience the youngster had become! Dickens' Artful Dodger had, to be sure, enjoyed the vocational advantages of discipleship to Fagin, but, in a school sense, he was almost totally uneducated; yet how completely competent he was to live the life of his choice. He knew the city, he understood the ways of his natural enemies, the police, and of his prey, the old gentlemen with watches and silk handkerchiefs; he had cunning, skill, resourcefulness; and he was a philosopher, defending his predatory conduct on grounds not wholly different from those employed by more socially approved exploiters of human ignorance and

weakness. Even Topsy, so innocent of education that she only "growed," had a fund of social experience and abilities of adjustment that enabled her very well to live the life in which she happened to be.

LIMITATIONS OF UNDIRECTED EXPERIENCE

Of course these children did not achieve the kind of adjustment to society which we desire for our own children. The adjustment was to the limited society in which they were living, not to the complete society with its mature standards and requirements. Their experiences seem to have been haphazard. They never learned anything but what they wanted to learn and which they could put to immediate use. If there were any desirable skill to be acquired they set to work to secure it by imitation and by trial and error, but they looked only to its value in the circumstances in which they were placed. No thought of citizenship in the larger world entered into their scheme of life. Yet from these untrained children we may be able to see the essential nature of the educational process; it must be just as natural an experience of living. The effective school situation will be as similar as possible to the out-of-school situation. Experiences do not become educational by reason of their difference from the ordinary experiences of life, but because they arise out of situations which have been so carefully prepared that they will exercise the child in progressive adjustment to the larger society in which he is living and is to live. The educator functions as a director of the process. He knows that there are ranges of experience into which the child will never stumble by his own random efforts, and into which he will never come by the mere process of living

with his kind; that there are skills which will give him control of situations beyond his own unaided power to imagine; that there are adjustments to the more complex situations of life which the child will never be able to make unless he is helped by progressive gradation to achieve the necessary abilities. The educator therefore organizes and arranges situations in which the child may be able to develop his experience. He creates situations calling for new and more effective adjustments than the child has yet been able to make. If these are presented in a proper gradation of ascending difficulty, the child will be able more economically to secure such adjustment abilities as he would otherwise get by his own efforts, and to secure an ever increasing stock of abilities that would not otherwise have been possible for him at all.

An excellent illustration of this meaning of education may be seen in the summer camps for boys and for girls which are taking deservedly so important a place in our life today. President Eliot is reported to have said that they are America's most important contribution to education.[1] If they are so, it is because they are, first and last, a direction of experience. Of course any group of boys or girls spending several weeks in the woods or by the lakeside would get a lot of experience. Some of it would be socially desirable, physically healthful; much of it would be far otherwise. There would inevitably be accidents and sickness from carelessness and overindulgence; there would be quarrels and misunderstandings; articles would be borrowed without leave or actually stolen; dep-

[1] *Religious Education* of June, 1925, has a significant symposium on the summer camp with some very discriminating evaluation. See also Davies, *Out of Doors with Youth.*

redations upon the property of neighbors would be committed; late hours night and morning would be kept; irregularity at meals would be common—on the whole it would be a very disorderly type of experience. That the well-directed summer camp is entirely different is not because of rigid discipline, severe rules with heavy penalties for infraction; indeed, there is very little of what is ordinarily called discipline. There is a delightful common program which everybody shares: early rising, the morning dip, camp in order, breakfast with a brief grace and then utter freedom, inspection, a couple of hours of work, plenty of play, all kinds of games, interesting studies of the nature life about them, carefully acquired skills in swimming, boating, mountain-climbing, fire-making and cooking in the woods, times of rest and quiet, letters home, then the great experience about the camp fire in the evening. Glowing, fascinating, thrilling experiences, all directed with the light touch of the skilled leader, so that the whole life is rich in self-expression, comradeship, wood lore, kindness, joy, reverence.

THE MAJOR EXPERIENCES SUBJECT TO EDUCATION

What has been done in the significant educative process of the summer camp? Simply the natural situation of the out-of-doors summer life has been so controlled as to call forth responses of the highest social value. Complete education will so deal with all the experiences of life that physical, mental, social adjustments will be made without friction, and with increasing readiness and satisfaction. Let us examine this principle in operation in the major experiences that come to us. Of course human personality is a unit constantly defying our analysis, one ex-

perience combining with another to prevent our study of any one by itself. Yet for convenience, while recognizing that they are not mutually exclusive, we may recognize six great interests: play, work, money, art, worship, and knowledge.[1] All of these are socially conditioned and are enriched by the fundamental interests in people, in fellowship, in shared experiences, and in the interaction of personalities. All of these may be so directed as to become educative, and all of them are needed in a complete education.

PLAY

Play is the most spontaneous human activity. It is free self-expression without ulterior object. The sufficient reason for play is just the joy of it. If, then, it can be so directed as to become educative, there will evidently be a marked economy, as we shall be going with the tide of keenest interest. But more than that, play affords some of the best opportunity for moral development, because so much of it is essentially of a social character. Even little children play side by side, getting some sense of comradeship. Very soon plays become co-operative, calling for very definite social give-and-take. Often they have the competitive character, with all the social values and dangers that belong in that sphere. At last they attain the team quality, with the opportunities of group loyalty and sacrifice and of fairness and generosity to opponents which such group activity affords.

Undirected play is the source of the gravest social

[1] It will be evident at once that some experiences most important for education are not included here; for example, how significantly may the experiences of defeat, victory, sorrow, and the like, be directed toward spiritual progress. It seems wise to deal with these later in the chapter on "Education through Moral Crises."

evils. Children quarrel and cheat and abuse one another in their games. In a school yard in what is supposed to be a good neighborhood in Chicago the vilest language and the most horrible vituperation can be heard during the playground period. Under direction, children learn to keep temper under provocation, to accept the rules of the game, to submit disputes to the umpire, and to abide by his decision. Under the wisest management, there is often opportunity for generosity toward younger and less competent players, willingness to permit "kids" to join them, recognition of the courtesies that belong to true sport.

We are in constant danger of losing the joy and freedom of the play experience by allowing it to become subservient to ulterior ends. The intense development of competition concentrates attention on victories and prizes and provokes interest in betting. Play at its best is so satisfying that even victory is subordinate and stakes are at the most incidental. Of course when the desire to win has become all-absorbing or the interest in the betting outcome has become dominant, genuine play has disappeared. Business men who cannot play without betting reveal their inability to escape from the money interest.

Directed play ought to be a valuable means for laying the foundations for the understanding of law. There is an unfortunate idea in America that law is made by external authority and is to be obeyed, with the not infrequent corollary that it may be disobeyed "if you can get away with it." But the rules of a game are clearly not imposed. They belong to the essence of the game. Disregard of the rules vitiates the game. We visited a kindergarten where a game was in progress that required all eyes to be closed while an object was hidden. The desire

to find the article was very strong, and every child knew that a little peep out of half-opened eyes would make discovery possible. But the children had their eyes, not only closed, but screwed together, seeming to say, "We must by no means look." Nearly all games involve the principle of fairness, and there is never the complicating difficulty that anybody regards the rules themselves as unfair. It is universally recognized that the rules are valid and are binding.

It would be too much to say that observance of the rules of play will make law-abiding citizens. The carry-over is not so easy as that. But here is a basis for the idea of life as organized under rules, which are not arbitrary but which arise out of the very meaning of the activity itself. Doubtless the home and the school could greatly help in this carry-over if their rules were less imposed and were more evidently the essential conditions of the co-operative enterprise. The many schemes of pupil self-government organized on the basis of an imitation of adult life, such as the mayor and city-council plan, approximate the play conditions and may very possibly help to develop the experience of law as the rules of the game.

Beyond these simple social experiences play may be directed toward the achievement of skills and knowledges and many significant adjustments to life-situations. The kindergarten plays are definitely so organized. Montessori[1] has developed an ingenious scheme for training children in the difficult art of dressing themselves. This is a condition in which without any training and by sheer necessity a child would at last gain some sort of ability. He

[1] Described and discussed by Dewey, *Schools of Tomorrow*, p. 146.

would learn to get into some kind of clothing, buttoning or tying or knotting it together, perhaps with considerable ingenuity. But civilized dressing is a different matter, and children often find the process difficult and irksome. Why not get the necessary skill and co-ordination of muscle through play? Montessori gives the children wooden frames fitted with cloth which is open down the center, the edges being joined partly with buttons, partly with hooks and eyes, and partly with ribbons. The child is shown how to fasten and unfasten these edges. It is an interesting piece of manipulation, just the sort of thing that he would like to do over and over again, interested in the results that he sees and in the feeling of ability to achieve the results. Without knowing it he acquires the skills of buttoning, hooking, and tying. This is a very simple illustration of education as controlled experience. The situation has been deliberately created by which the child in the exercise of his ordinary interest in manipulation and without any ulterior interest in dressing himself —a social value still beyond his appreciation—will acquire a skill which he can presently use in an important and satisfying adjustment.

A much more advanced example of learning through directed play is afforded by the practice in the second grade of the elementary school at the University of Chicago of playing Indian during the autumn quarter. It seems to the children the same kind of game at being Indians which they might undertake of their own accord. They dress up in Indian fashion, making the clothes, the moccasins, and the weapons. Each child makes a miniature wigwam, with Indian dolls and tiny furniture. In addition the whole class makes a full-sized wigwam, care-

fully cutting the cloth, measuring the strips, sewing them together, then fitting them on the wooden supports. Color schemes are worked out. Pottery such as the Indians use is fashioned and ornamented. The whole process is built on the basis of stories and pictures of Indian life in which facts are accurately presented. Simple written records of their work are kept.

Here the children seem to be playing. The experience is entirely congruous with that which they have in any extended play. They co-operate with one another in the make-believe undertaking. But it is a directed experience. The children are really learning the beginnings of American history; they are taking simple lessons in reading and writing; they are getting measurement experience and skill; they are developing manual ability in the exact work of construction; they are learning color discrimination; and they are securing dramatic training. What would have been haphazard and of slight value has become educative under direction.

It is not necessary that the children should recognize that they are in an educational process, or even that they should realize that they have learned anything. It is enough if the process has been a genuine experience within the sphere in which the educator is seeking to establish meaning. The value of play is that it is always the experience of meaning. Very much teaching is not experiential, or rather it is simply the experience of listening to something which the elders require one to hear and to remember. The educator in such case has a goal before him, but the learning experience has no relation to that goal; therefore education does not take place. *There is no education unless the student experiences meaning which has*

some definite relation to the educational aim. That is not to say that he will necessarily realize the aim as the educator sees it. The children playing Indian did not know that they were learning American history, arithmetical measurement, and color appreciation. But they did know that they were understanding how Indians live, that they were using measures in the cutting of cloth, that they were choosing the colors that were appropriate for their designs. It was a genuine experience related to the larger end. The kindergarten children did not have the experience of the ethical meaning of law, but they did have an experience of the right and wrong thing to do in playing the game. The concept of education as directed experience involves a continuous congruity of the experience with the educational aim.

Dramatization in its simpler forms is very largely a play experience. Children dramatize spontaneously. A little child was observed, by his mother, standing up in bed and gesticulating. She listened and heard him say, "There is the sun; there is the moon; there are the stars." He then folded his arms majestically and added, "Then God laughed." He was dramatizing Creation. If our contention is correct that historical and literary knowledge are dependent on mental dramatization, is there not large opportunity of introducing children to such knowledge by direction of the play experience? We shall note other educational values of dramatization in the consideration of art and of worship.

WORK

For convenience we may define work as activity with an economic purpose. We discuss separately those creative forms of activity which we call art and those activi-

ties devoted to the attainment of skills and knowledges which we call study. Both of these often involve severe labor, so that the artist and the student may well speak of their "work," but there is an advantage in considering separately those processes by which the fundamental needs of men are met and which generally lack the inspiration that art and study are so well qualified to afford.

Work may have something of the play spirit if it is so conducted that there is satisfaction in the activity itself. Yet work is distinguished from play in having some useful end as its object and by having a quality of necessity. We may play as we will, but we work as we must. Our great complex society goes on only as the great majority of people do the work that carries it on.

Society has decided that it is so important that children should learn to live that they must not be allowed to give their time to earning a living. We protect them from the industrial obligations of life until fourteen or sixteen years of age, and often for many years longer. The rigor and monotony, the uneducational character of most of the world's work, must not be forced upon children. We cherish hopes that we may yet find means of giving all men opportunity of creative labor; but, at all events, we are agreed that children must not join the ranks of the workers until they have had a chance of such development of experience that they will not be obliged to be merely workers.

Yet children should not grow up outside the economic experience. One does not learn the meaning of life by being fed and clothed and waited upon. City children may grow up with no idea of the work which makes their easy existence possible. The old farm life often required far too

much of children; its heavy, monotonous tasks were often too hard; but it did give the children the experience of sharing the economic life of the family. They knew that if you want eggs you must take care of hens and gather the eggs from the nests, if you want milk you must go out in the cold mornings and milk the cows, if you want fire you must chop the wood and haul it in. There was an experience of social value in everything that was done, as even a child could appreciate the necessity of most of the labor.

A father who had left the farm and achieved great professional success in the city said rather helplessly, "I did a man's work when I was fourteen, but now I don't know how to make life hard enough for my boys." He ought not to have done a man's work at fourteen. We do not want to bring back those harsh conditions upon our children, but we do want them to enter into the process of sharing in the world's work. Education will involve direction in the work experience.

A socially minded father formed his family into a company for the purpose of carrying on the domestic life. There were officers of the company and committees on the various departments—furnace, lawns, flower beds, dish-washing, etc. There were stated meetings of the company, at which reports were given and everything was discussed and planned. Those children did not feel that the father imposed upon them tasks which were to be done as evasively as possible, nor did they feel that they were graciously helping mother in her work. They realized that they were in a co-operative enterprise. The experience of the work was the experience of the meaning of carrying on human life. The bit of play and imitation

of adult business in this domestic scheme were themselves educational, reaching out to some understanding of business as a big housekeeping enterprise.

A mother made the objection that the school is so exacting in its demands upon the time and strength of the students that no household duties could be required of them. Some interesting attempts have been made to give school credit for home activities. The Gary Plan in its schedule of hours definitely takes into account the requirements of the home on the time of the students. Moreover, where there is a will there is a way. The writer has a most happy recollection of a cultured home where the mother as the expert cooked the dinner, and the high-school son and daughter served it in simple and fitting style, sat at table with the family, afterward washed the dishes, and rejoined the family in the sitting room half an hour after the meal was finished—no very serious interference with school duties or social engagements and a very fine exhibition of family co-operation.

The school may attain educational results by directing its students in work experience, that is, economic work as distinguished from study. Education will not use work to accustom children to the necessity of meaningless routine but to give them the experience of co-operative endeavor in the enterprise of human life. In the Montessori school the simple mid-morning refreshments are prepared and served by the children, who also clear away and wash the dishes. This bit of work activity has, in the experience of the children, the meaning that there are certain essential processes to be carried through if we are to have a meal. In some schools the pupils wire the buildings for electricity, repair the plumbing, do all necessary carpen-

ter work, make blackboards, and construct most of the apparatus needed in the school life. While this involves very valuable developments in manual skill, its prime significance is not in these achievements but in the experience in the actual process of carrying on the physical enterprise of the school.

Antioch College has frankly insisted that the work experience is of the highest educational significance. A student is not allowed to engage exclusively in studies. He must spend half of each year in a factory, shop, or office, not primarily to learn the trade or the business, but to get the experience of the world's work—fellowship with workers involving an understanding of their outlook and their expectations, knowledge of processes of industry and business, experience of wage-earning and of money value. A number of terms in many different occupations would certainly give a student a significant understanding of the life of today and would probably give very much larger meaning to his college studies.

The church has an especially good opportunity to direct the work experience to an educational end. Sadly enough, she has often thrown it away by employing the energies of the children in selling tickets to money-making entertainments or in producing amateur performances for the sake of levying upon the public to pay the church expenses. There are great educational possibilities in working for the church: caring for the lawn, beautifying the church yard with flowers, keeping the building neat and clean, making curtains, calcimining and papering, constructing the apparatus needed for the classes, assisting in the preparation and serving of church dinners (given to promote the social life of the church and not as com-

mercial endeavors to get outsiders to pay the church debts).

An admirable example of education as controlled experience was furnished by a church that appointed a group of boys to check the coats and hats of the members at the annual meeting. When the people came with their checks at the end of the evening they saw on the table a plate containing a few decoy coins. The boys saw a good opportunity of turning an honest penny, and the members, accustomed to pay a dime for redeeming their garments, quite willingly dropped coins into the plate. The professional "thank you" of the attendants was true to check-room style. But some of us saw what the boys were missing. The women had prepared the church dinner, the girls had waited on the table, the officers had given reports of their labors for the church during the year, but the boys were making money out of it. Nothing was said that night, but on the next occasion the matter was explained to the Scout troop who were asked if they would like to give their services, without tips of course, as their contribution to the success of the evening. The boys did it gladly, and their successors have done it for a dozen years. There is no more thought in that church of tipping the check boys than of tipping the girl waiters. They feel the honor of the common labor in the common cause.

The writer recalls an interesting reply given by a little Italian caddy who had been explaining how he served the priest at the altar. The player, remembering the expectant attitude of the lad at the completion of the game, asked him if he got paid for his service in the church. The boy, evidently shocked, replied, "You don't get paid for *that*."

MONEY

The discussion of work has inevitably led into the consideration of money. Children soon get a money experience, finding out that these little metal discs, at first only objects of play, can be exchanged at the stores for highly desirable articles. Then by all means get money: beg for it, be a good child in order to get it, take it out of any purse that is lying about, bargain to do what is desired of you by your elders for so much cash, and do not give any of it away. Money experiences of greed, selfishness, dishonesty, and avarice are easily acquired. The moral dangers of money are evident enough. But there may be an altogether healthy expression of this important interest. Education in this field is the creation of situations in which the money experience may be socialized. Money is utterly good. It is the symbol of civilization. It is the magic extension of personality. I can do a piece of work which society will appraise, giving to me money as a symbol of that appraisal. Through that money I can then express myself in a thousand ways and to the ends of the earth. I can get the things I want, serve the causes I approve, help the people whom I love, prepare for future interests.

Experiences with money will come inevitably. Will they be the best experiences, will they lead to social living? We must create situations which will control and direct the experiences if we are to get desirable results.

Probably there are few opportunities of shared family life more important, less understood, and more neglected, than those afforded by money. The parents, sometimes only the father, are the holders and dispensers of money; the children simply get what they can. There are some

great educational values in family budget-making. If the family is a co-operative enterprise where each is doing his part, then the income is a family possession which all should share. While it is not desirable to pay children for taking their part in the home duties, it might well be that an allowance is made to each conditioned upon the performance of his duties. As early as practicable children should have the administration of the money needed for their own expenses—books, entertainment, clothes, and general spending. Important values are possible in connection with individual budget-making, keeping accounts, making reports, etc.

Additional opportunities for earning money are very desirable when they do not infringe upon the time needed for school duties, and particularly where they are of a socially valuable character. Probably in earlier childhood simple forms of work are better than business. Particularly should care be taken that the child never exploits the sympathy of adults who would pay him because he is a cute little fellow. An objectionable practice has been developed of employing high-school boys to sell magazines in order to secure college tuition, thus appealing to the adult interest in youthful education. All subtle forms of mendicancy should be carefully avoided. These are the misdirection of experience. But honest labor or genuine business paid for at the market rate is an experience into which children should be carefully guided. When misfortune compels a child to become a breadwinner for the family, it is a terrible tragedy; but when he is able to make a reasonable contribution to the family resources in providing for some of his own expenses, it is a valuable educational experience.

Some very satisfactory direction of the money experience has been made in teaching children that there are four uses of money: for pleasure, for needs, to save, and to give. Parents have reported that children three years of age are able to enter into these experiences. One child was allotted five cents per week, which he was advised to divide among the four uses. This left each week the fifth penny to be applied to the particular use which seemed most important. Various combinations of saving with each of the other uses were worked out. In one case the child saved his "needs" pennies until he could buy a tube of tooth paste for ten cents. He felt great pride in providing this article for himself.

The schools have worked out some excellent techniques in thrift and money understanding. But this is a field where the family can be particularly effective. A lot of fun between parents and children is possible in devising intelligent direction of the money experience.

The giving of money is so important that it demands far more careful consideration than it has yet received. We have already suggested that the inclusion of the children in family budget-making would help them to realize the attitude of their own group toward religious and benevolent contributions. But in addition, even the youngest child should be taught to give as one of his earliest money experiences.

One of the greatest uses of money is to give it wisely to accomplish some socially desirable end in which the donor has no economic interest. The church is a peculiarly important institution for developing this grace. Unfortunately under the stress of financial necessity it often spoils the opportunity. Indeed, only too often it trains its

children in pious frauds, selling worthless advertising on church programs, begging goods from neighborhood tradesmen, selling tickets with all the little trickeries which are perpetrated *ad majorem gloriam Dei.* The church should pay its own way and should train its children to share the responsibility.

The giving of money must be a genuine experience. There is a great deal of nonsense talked about cultivating the habit of giving by sending children to Sunday school with a nickel or a dime. That cultivates the habit of transporting money, not of giving it. A Sunday-school investigation revealed that certain children were spending four cents of the collection nickel on candy and putting one cent into the envelope. They had discovered that one can get nearly as much candy for four cents as if he spent the whole nickel, that one can carry out the parental direction to put money in the collection envelope, and that one can get the necessary social approval of the class as a contributor. The collection evidently had no meaning; it was a mere formality.

An earnest religious mother urged her little six-year-old to make a sacrifice for missions. To this he agreed but when asked what he would be willing to give up for a week he was unable to think of anything. The mother suggested that he give up sugar at all of his meals during the seven days. He offered as a counter suggestion to give up soap. Why should anyone give up good things when he has no experience of the object of his sacrifice? The educational emphasis must be placed on worthful experience. Is it to be an experience of the church as an institution that is trying to get one's money or as an institution that is engaged in such interesting and noble enterprises that

one gladly contributes one's money in order to share in what is so well worth doing?

The education of children in money-giving would seem to involve the following principles: (1) the money must be their own, to be given or withheld as they decide; (2) the object of the gift must be within their experience and clearly understood; (3) with young children the objects should be concrete, for they will not understand contributions to causes, boards, missions, unified budgets, etc.; (4) the satisfactory result of the gift should be evident, so that they may see the worthfulness of the investment—this may involve reports, visits, letters; (5) the gifts should be made by a natural group—a class, a department, a club; (6) the object should be decided by the group after careful study, often with consideration of the comparative worth of different objects; (7) while there should be the glow of emotion in doing the kindly deed, there should never be such emotional stimulus as to inhibit deliberative action, for nothing is more disastrous than regret that a gift or a pledge has been made; (8) the contribution experience should be graded, ascending in amount, in the time devoted to a particular object, in remoteness of operation and of result; (9) until the end of the high-school period the educational value of the giving experience should be controlling, the needs of institutions being entirely subordinated (there may be some institutions that should depend entirely on adults); (10) the test of success will be the enlarging appreciation, in ever wider spheres of social sympathy, that it actually is more blessed to give than to receive.

Hutchins' little book, *Graded Social Service for the Sunday School*, is now a bit out of date in its details, but

it represents the endeavor to organize a graded series of experiences by which children will progressively come to be happy contributors of themselves and of their money in religious work.

ART

The experience of the enjoyment and achievement of beauty partakes of the character both of play and of work. In its freedom, in its joyous self-expression, in its creative quality, it is akin to play. So far, it is an end in itself. But it is always some *thing* that is beautiful, and that thing is to be made and to be used; thus it comes to be a needed contribution to the world's life. Moreover the achievement involves effort often monotonous and difficult. Hence it has much of the character of work.

There is a large art experience into which our children come inevitably. They see pictures which they like; they hear music which pleases them; they pick up songs which appeal to them. They dramatize their stories and their make-believes. Art education is the direction of this experience of beauty. A family of fine musical taste carefully exposed their little boy of five to good phonograph records. They taught him to put them on himself, thus enlisting the manipulating interest. The child visited his aunt who offered to amuse him with her records. He begged to be allowed to put them on himself, selecting them at random, as of course he could not read. She had put out the jazz records, thinking that they would please him. He put on one after another, stopping them as soon as he found their quality, and finally said, "Auntie, haven't you any moosic? These are only noise." How culpable the church has been in associating the religious experience with noise instead of with music.

The children will of course respond to loud, vivid, thrilling stimuli in music and in pictures. But the higher enjoyments are always in the ability to react pleasurably to the finer rather than to the grosser stimuli. Children may be led to love beauty and to dislike ugliness and vulgarity if we create the situations in which these experiences are possible. The schools are giving increasing attention to music and to pictorial art. Very beautiful pictures are to be found upon the walls; and graduating classes often choose a fine etching or a piece of sculpture as their parting gift. The churches are generally far behind the schools, and the homes sometimes lag still farther in the rear. It is not so much a question of money as of taste, of understanding, of interest.

We have already considered dramatization as directed play. It has a larger place in education as we think of it as the direction of the art experience. Moreover, some of the most important forms of worship are essentially dramatic, suggesting one important means of developing worship. Evangelical fear of the drama long deprived us of this potent expression of life. But children delight to dramatize. They do it spontaneously, alone, and in their games with one another. When we have tried to use this interest educationally, we have too often developed only the horrible facility of "speaking pieces." Happily, we are beginning to understand its better possibilities. Dramatization as the reproduction of human experience, as the reliving of the story; pageantry as the symbolic expression of feeling and of meaning—these are educational techniques which are proving most effective wherever skilfully employed.

WORSHIP

Religious experience is sharing the religious practices of the group and naturally proceeding from these to the ideas and meanings that lie behind them. Religious education is such an arrangement of these religious practice situations that the experience of the children may become progressively richer. That was a fine educational insight of the Hebrews that led to the development of the program of the Passover feast. The children had shared in the preparation of the house for the great festival. Upon the solemn evening they had all followed the items of the ritual in the eating of the supper. At the appointed time the youngest was to ask the father what these things meant; then the father was to give the historic explanation of the ceremonial. Here was genuine direction of experience. The feast constituted the arranged situation, the common participation of all in the ritual gave the experience of the shared life; the explanation came after the experience of the common performance. Even if the youngest child lacked ability to understand fully the historical meaning, he yet shared the social experience to the extent of his comprehension.

Education in prayer is a good test of our principle. The child sees prayer long before he prays. His father and mother bend in silence over his crib with closed eyes and moving lips. The whole family spends a quiet moment before each meal. He may be on his mother's knee at dusk on Sunday when the family sing hymns and when presently a prayer is said or read. Early he learns his own little prayer. At first it is purely formal, ritual. The experience is that of doing something that everybody

does. Presently with the simple development of the idea of the creator God, the Great Giver, prayer takes on the form of petition. We may be able to save it from the mere crass attempt to get things, but it will inevitably be the experience of asking for help. The child's prayer will include gratitude and praise. It may soon express something of the wonder and mystery of nature and of life. This will require the preparation of a prayer to be learned —an educational process, for the prayer which is to be learned is an arranged situation into which the prayer experience is directed. Prayer is easily confession, growing out of the experiences of confession with parents and teachers. It will develop until it becomes a longing for fellowship with God and for spiritual help. The biblical prayers and those of the great religious spirits will be the educational models for these higher reaches of experience.

The report of an interesting experiment with a group of boys and girls twelve to fifteen years of age will be published shortly.[1] It goes beyond the subject of worship but may conveniently be presented here as a complete project illustrative of our principle. At the beginning of the church year the leader called together the boys and girls, who had been in three or four classes, and suggested to them that they form a Christian society. He gave them no program, but stood by as counselor while they prepared a constitution, selected a name, and chose their officers. They decided to call themselves "The Junior Church," which raised the question of worship as one of the functions of a church. After some discussion this led

[1] Conducted by Rev. Victor E. Marriott at the Hyde Park Congregational Church as an experiment in religious education in the University of Chicago.

to a decision to study worship for a series of weeks. Thus they developed their first curriculum material. They examined the hymnal to see what the hymns meant and what would be most appropriate for them to sing. They studied the various forms of prayer, adapting certain prayers for their own worship and then writing their own prayers. They made a budget including a contribution to the church expenses and a certain percentage for philanthropic work outside their own community. In order to find out how they should best appropriate this fund, they made a study of several social agencies—a continuation of curriculum. All in all this group of young adolescents carried on for three years a fairly significant religious undertaking, endeavoring with some success to work out the Christian principles not only in their church organization but in their social and school life. The leader was constantly consulted, and his advice was generally accepted. He did not hesitate to point out dangers and mistakes. He was ever ready with suggestions when the enterprise seemed to flag or when new interests were needed. It proved a very satisfactory example of education as directed experience.[1]

KNOWLEDGE

As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, a child will gain a certain amount of information and acquire certain immediate skills by the mere fact of living in the world and with his fellows. Many of us learned, without any teacher, to skate, swim, play ball, ride a bicycle, use a hammer and screw driver, and do a thousand

[1] Worship is so fundamental in religious education that we shall return to a fuller discussion of the subject in later chapters.

things that we wanted to do. We asked questions about things that we wanted to know. We became interested in stamp collecting and secured much information about various countries of the world. We knew our way about the city, remembering the names of the streets and of the car lines. Even if we had never learned to read, we should have secured the knowledge we desired about the famous baseball and football players, and perhaps the famous jockeys. Education simply undertakes to direct this experiential process so as to make it rapid, balanced, economical. The achievement of an organized body of knowledge is so important for the member of a civilized society and is beset with so many difficulties that we shall devote a separate chapter to its consideration.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Secure a complete hour-by-hour program of a summer camp, and consider in what respects it is a direction of the natural experience of the young people.

2. Make a study of the school in your neighborhood for the purpose of discovering how far the play interest is directed toward educational ends (*a*) through the supervised games of the playground and (*b*) in the learning process itself. Compare this with the excellent programs developed in such cities as Cleveland and St. Louis.

3. Consider how far the Boy Scout or the Camp Fire program is a directed play experience.

4. Select three families in which there are children between six and fifteen; one family where there is abundant employed service, one in which there is a single housemaid, one in which there is only occasional household help. Find out how much contribution the children make to the performance of the household duties in each of these homes. Estimate how far the work experience is of educational value. Consider how far this is a directed experience.

5. What work in your church is done by the children, and by

the boys and girls, that is so directed as to be educationally significant?

6. Take three families of different financial ability and study the money experience of the children. How far is that experience directed toward educational ends?

7. Study the financial program of some Sunday school and endeavor to estimate the experience of the children in their various gifts of money. Outline some suggestions for that school by which its money program could be more educational.

8. Read Elizabeth Miller's *The Dramatization of Bible Stories* and consider how far her method is a direction of the art experience of the children.

9. Make a detailed statement of some program of Sunday-school worship. Endeavor to estimate how far this is a creation of situations in which the natural worship experiences of the young people can be enriched and directed.

10. Describe a situation which might be prepared in that Sunday school which would result in a significant worship experience.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. List some significant experiences that came to you without conscious direction of any older person.

2. Endeavor to recall your earliest home training. How far was it something which you were required to do, and how far did it seem to you to be more abundant living?

3. Endeavor to recall your early school life. Was it to you at the time an enrichment of experience or was it a series of imposed activities? Try to recall examples of each type.

4. What contribution did you make to the work of your home? How did you feel about it? Was there any tactful and skilful organization of the activities by which you were able to feel that you were co-operating in the family responsibilities?

5. Does your own experience of working in the home suggest anything to you as to the training you would give to your own children?

6. Endeavor to recall your money experiences—getting, spending, saving, giving. What would they suggest to you (*a*) as a guide

to the training of your own children, (*b*) as to what the church might do in this matter?

7. What religious songs did you learn in childhood? Were they learned at home or at the church? Can you recall any meaning which they had for you at the time? Did you enjoy them? Were they songs which have become of permanent value? Can you conceive any training in religious music which you might have received and which now seems to you desirable?

8. What are the earliest pictures which you remember? Can you recall any experiences in connection with any of them? Can you recover any experiences that would help you in training children in this direction?

9. When did you first learn to pray? What direction did you have in prayer? Were there any family religious practices which were significant to you then and which seem valuable to you now? Would you use such with your own children?

10. Describe the first significant experience of worship at church which you recall. What does this suggest regarding education in worship?

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION THROUGH ORGANIZED KNOWLEDGE

THE EXPERIENTIAL NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE

When a new concept is becoming generally accepted, it is time to see whether it may not contain some error. We must always be critical of the cant terms that become shibboleths. Who is he today so psychologically base that he would not say that the curriculum must be child-centered and not content-centered! But if the object of education is to help the child to become an effective member of the group and a contributor to its progressive ongoing, some modification of this widely accepted statement may be necessary.

Over against the dogmatic assumption of the adults that they have a body of knowledge which the child must be required to learn, the child-centered theory is irrefutable. But when the adults survey the rich experience into which they have come, and which makes life vital and interesting, and ask themselves how they can help their children to share that experience, "content" assumes a different aspect. When we say to the child, "I will tell you a story," we are proceeding from content. We know something which he does not, and we are quite sure that he will be glad to know it. We have an experience which we propose to share with him. We are not analyzing his experience to discover some immediate need, we are frankly offering him some new experience. Of course we

know that joy in such a new experience will meet his need, but we have selected that one need out of many. So Bower[1] prefers to say that the curriculum is experience-centered rather than child-centered.

The controversy disappears when we recognize the experiential nature of knowledge. A very large part of education is the acquisition of knowledge, just as the school men have always said. But it is experienced knowledge; it is knowledge which enables the learner to move out into larger areas of living. The child-centered curriculum is inadequate if it means that we will study the child and find what he needs, for this would give him only the satisfaction of his evident wants and the solution of his manifest problems. Education is the creation of needs and of problems; it is the lure of the young adventurer into experienceable knowledge; it is the stimulation of desires which never spontaneously occur.

The protest against knowledge for its own sake, knowledge as curriculum material, is entirely healthy; but the remedy is not to regard knowledge as merely stuff to be used in the solution of immediate problems, but to estimate the experience quality of any body of knowledge and consider its value for the enlargement of life. There is a certain sense in which knowledge says to us, "I am come that ye might have life and that ye might have it abundantly."

Perhaps most of the difference of view turns upon the use of the term "problem." It is a most valuable concept if we employ it with Dewey[2] as indicating the fundamen-

[1] "The Curriculum as Enriched and Controlled Experience," *Journal of Religion*, VII, Nos. 5–6, 507.

[2] *How We Think.*

tal nature of the thought process. But it must not be limited to the current difficulties that arise in daily living. Nor must we think that knowledge is principally useful for clearing up some practical confusion. If we recognize that our large, inclusive problem is how to live in relation with our fellows, in understanding and sympathy with man in all times and in all places; how to appreciate all that man has done and thought and can do; how to live on our planet and in our universe and with all Reality, then, of course, knowledge-seeking is always problem-solving.

Zeta Tau Alp

KNOWLEDGE AS ACCUMULATED EXPERIENCE

The nature of knowledge becomes clearer if we look at its development. The animals probably have very little knowledge. They live just in the moment, passing from one experience to another, though they are not without ability through association to profit by experience. Man has more continuous life. He conserves his experiences in memory, he compares one with another, he interprets new experiences in the light of the old. To a degree he is able to add the experience of others to his own. When any member of the group tells what has happened to him, the whole group enters dramatically into the experience and lives in it, thereby enlarging its life. Indeed, does not one person often tell as his own the experience that he has heard recounted by another?

Thus man from the beginning of his career accumulated experience. Among the simplest peoples of whom we have information there is a considerable body of knowledge, including all the skills that have been acquired and conserved, all the observations of weather, of nature, of

the animals, and of man, all the tested properties of herbs, all the materials suitable for food. This information is handed on through practice and in communication. Another range of knowledge includes the remembered deeds of ancestors, some memories of the migrations of the tribe, approved methods of securing the favor of the gods. All this lore is handed on in story and ritual. The possession of this common body of experience, fairly wide in extent, unites the group, enlarges its life, gives it outlook and understanding. As the children grow up and progressively enter into this body of accumulated experience, they become united with the elders in the common life.

New knowledge enlarges this common life. When copper appeared in the ashes of the fire about which the hunters had piled the rocks that happened to be ore, and when the new metal was worked into weapons and tools, the whole tribe moved into a larger world, not only by reason of the better implements available to all, but by the experience of seeing the the copper-workers, of talking together about the new activity, of sharing the new social value, of feeling a wider wonder. Too little recognition is given in many of our discussions today to the significance of the possession of a common body of knowledge in the development of social life. The people who know and understand the same things are the people who live the same life.

SYMBOLS OF KNOWLEDGE

The invention of letters and the achievement of reading and writing gave man his great opportunity of advance. No longer was human experience confined to what a single memory could preserve, but each generation

could put its own experience into permanent symbolic form and pass it on to those who came after. The library is the accumulated experience of the race. All that man has ever done or said or sung is available for the interest, the guidance, the inspiration, the wonder, of those who read.

But this required the learning of the symbols, and knowledge assumed a different aspect; it ceased to be inevitably experiential. As soon as knowledge became expressed in literary symbols, it was accessible only to those who had the skill to read. Tools of knowledge thus arose, removing the knowledge itself one step from direct experience. With the development of the school to which children must be sent that they might acquire the tools of knowledge another step of removal was taken, separating the learner from the experiential quality of that which he was supposed to learn.

This fundamental difference is evident as we compare the preliterate and the extra-literate knowledge of our own children with much of their literate knowledge. The former is wholly experiential, achieved by the mere process of living where the experiences are going on; the latter tends to be formal, something to be learned in lessons, something demanded by a teacher; it does not deal directly with experience but with the symbols of experience. Unfortunately there is too much possibility of achieving considerable skill in handling the symbols without in any wise recovering the meanings which are behind them.

This is the knowledge which is so strongly condemned as "content." It has come about from our endeavor to hand over our accumulated experience as largely and as

quickly as possible to the children. Recognizing the difficulty of their fully entering into the experiences, we have thought that if we could get them to learn the symbolic expression they would have the form into which the meaning would come as they progressed. If they learn the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes, it is supposed that they have got knowledge, the proper statement of religious truth. It is supposed that this is good in itself and will become more good as the children advance to an understanding of the meanings.

So we have developed the idea that *facts* can be taught. School and church have been interested in making children acquainted with facts—historical facts, geographical facts, grammatical facts, literature facts, Bible facts, religious facts. But a fact is nothing without meaning.

The writer asked his little twelve-year-old neighbor what he was doing at school, and received the prompt answer that he was studying the Punic War. A little test revealed that the boy knew the names, the dates, the places, the *facts*. When pressed a little further to explain why Rome and Carthage fought, he gave some more *facts*. But it was soon evident that he had not entered into the experiences; he did not feel the grip of the tragic struggle; he did not know that two peoples lived on opposite sides of a sea uncertain whether both could trade and both could prosper or one must be destroyed. He did not know that it was the same question as whether two peoples can live on the opposite banks of the Rhine, each growing and prospering; whether two great nations can live on the opposite shores of the Pacific, each trading and developing; whether two ambitious boys can get

along in the same school, each winning success; or must there be conflict and destruction in each of these cases? He had not got the experience of the Punic War with its inevitable question: Must the world follow the philosophy *Carthago est delenda* or is it possible to live in the social relations of give-and-take?

The teacher of that boy would have said that he had learned the facts and that some of these larger meanings might wait until he was more mature. But what are facts? A fact is nothing without meaning. We take great palpitating human experiences, where there was play of human passion and motive; we squeeze out all the interest and wash out all the color, until only the names and the places and the dates are left; we put this into a textbook and we give it to students to learn; they re-cite; and we call that education. The teacher throws a symbol to the pupil, he catches it and throws it back to her, and each of them thinks that something has been accomplished.

A high-church rector instructed his curate who was training the confirmation class to "drill them hard on the sacraments." The good man was most anxious that those young people, living in a careless age, should be well established in churchmanship. He wanted them to be sure of the historical tradition; yet instead of introducing them to the experiences that produced the tradition, he put his emphasis on the verbal formulas. He felt that if without flinching they could say that a sacrament was "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace" something had really been achieved. By his own religious theory, sacraments are the divinely appointed means of effecting moral change in human lives and are there-

fore the supremest experience into which the Christian can come. It would seem that one would tremble with glorious wonder in the presence of such a blessed mystery. But these children were to be drilled hard on it. The fourteen-year-old boy who said naturally and earnestly, "Prayer helps a fella," had simply walked past those hard-drilled children into the holy of holies of religious experience.

In truth, the catechetical system is at the very opposite pole from the experiential concept of knowledge. No one mediating a living experience to another would ever put it into such a form. It is curious that many worthy people suppose that there is something ecclesiastical and sacred about catechizing as a form of instruction. Of course, it is nothing but the method which was once employed in all teaching, and which has been abandoned in every other sphere except that of religion. Formerly geography, grammar, natural science, and all other subjects were taught by the exact question and memorized answer; today only religion retains so dull and wooden a procedure. But it is not only bad method but worse theory, for it implies that the ability to give a definition of an experience has some vital relation to the experience itself, whereas it may have none at all.

There are two other fallacies upon which catechisms and similar memory methods are based. One is that there is "a golden age of memory" which it is most important to employ for storing the mind with the treasures which will be needed through life. There is no psychological basis for this view. Wise educational procedure will give opportunity for the constant storing of the mind with beautiful and interesting material which may be vitally

experienced at the time that it is learned. With proper memory practice we may go on through life learning what is needed whenever we understand it, and it will be far easier than to learn anything that is a dreary imposition without significance.

The other fallacy is that abstract ideas which are beyond the child's experience can be made understandable if expressed in simple language and illustrated by concrete examples. If a theological concept is beyond his understanding of the ways of life, it is no clearer in monosyllables than in the technical statement; and no more intelligent when illustrated, indeed probably less so, for the child will give attention to the illustration itself. A boy of twelve, anxious to become a member of the church, was told that he must believe in the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. This phrase was carefully explained, and he was given numerous examples of sacrificial suffering. He had no difficulty in understanding the phrase, but he could get no religious experience from it, for he had no feeling of the problem which this doctrine was supposed to solve.

THE RE-EXPERIENCE OF KNOWLEDGE

If experience has found expression in literary symbols, it is evident that education involves not only acquaintance with the symbols but the ability to translate them back into the experience which they represent. We must get from symbol-knowledge to the original experience-knowledge. The essential nature of this translation is indicated in the remark of a six-year-old child who had not yet learned to read. She was accustomed to climb on her father's knee just before the evening meal to listen to a story which he read from a book. One evening he told

her that he could not read the story as he would have to look at the paper for which he would have no time after supper. She made no objection, but took her accustomed place on his knee with the open book in her hand. At last she said, "Daddy, I look and look and look and the story won't come." She knew that hidden in those mysterious symbols was the delightful experience of the story, but for some reason it would not come out. Implicit in that incident is the meaning of the learning process and the meaning of knowledge. That child ought to be taught to read in such a way that the process itself would be a continuous experience of making the story come; and the whole body of knowledge into which the school will bring her ought to be the adventurous experiences of finding out what is worth knowing. Moreover, as the sharing of the story united the child with her father in a common experience, so should increasing knowledge unite the younger and the older members of society in the common experience of world-life.

Given this approach, the whole body of accumulated experience becomes available to the learner as he is able to re-experience it. Learning becomes essentially a dramatizing process. The learner is constantly putting himself into the scenes of the experience that he is studying and living as the original actors lived. Life may be conceived as the great human experiment. History is the story of how the experiment has been carried on; geography is the habitat of the experiment; mathematics is the number relations of the experiment; natural science is the physical conditions of the experiment; art is the ideal interpretation of the experiment; literature is what gifted souls have thought and felt about the experiment;

philosophy is contemplation of the meaning of the experiment; religion is appreciation of the divine quality of the experiment.[1] Knowledge so conceived is far more than "content"; it is sympathetic identification of one's self with the human process.

While all of the subjects of study have much bearing on religious knowledge, this is particularly true of history, literature, and geography. It may be worth while, therefore, to examine in some detail how these may be experienced.

HISTORY EXPERIENCE

History was human experience before it ever got into a textbook, and it does not become real knowledge until it gets retranslated into human experience. History is just the story of how men have carried on this great social experiment of living together in the world. They have searched for places to live; they have built themselves homes; they have worked to get the good things they wanted; they have acquired skills and abilities, exhibiting marvelous patience and resourcefulness; they have set up states, built noble cities, and organized kingdoms; they have sought supernatural aid in their endeavors and have developed religions with temples and rituals; sometimes they have fought, though not nearly as much as most historical books would indicate. In all this process they have been moved by the motives and wishes and passions that move ourselves. To live that strange interesting life over again, to see why men did what they did, and to recognize the results of their conduct—this is to

[1] There is doubtless the more objective study of the scholar; but even so, the physical universe is studied as man can study it, and so it becomes human experience again.

study history. It is a mental dramatization of the past. When a group of us study it together, we share that wider life, we wing our way in imagination over the long course that man has come; our sympathies are broadened, our understandings are widened, our points of contact with one another are increased, and perhaps our ability to meet our own social problems is developed.

We do not study history primarily to get light on our own problems, if by problems we mean the immediate uncertainties or difficulties in which we find ourselves. There is a curriculum theory that has great vogue among us which, starting with the problems of the learner, would take him into history and to all other sources to secure help for the settlement of the case before him. Doubtless this is a fitting procedure, although it is beset with the difficulty that the experiences of the past are not so handy that we can just reach for them when we need them. The recovery of past situations takes time and effort. We cannot usually spare so much when we are concerned with an immediate problem. It is often suggested that the fitting way to meet an ethical problem is to seek light from the teaching of Jesus. This is admirable in simple practical matters under wise guidance. But if the suggestion is meant seriously, it would demand a most thorough study of the whole meaning and background of Jesus' words. We may be led back into the old proof-text method by this modern pedagogy. As a matter of fact, does not the use of historical material for present enlightenment imply that we already have knowledge of that material?

The main reason for studying history is to know man and his fascinating story, because we too are men. Hu-

man appreciation, social sympathy, illumination of life, are the result of historical knowledge. We do not know ourselves until we know our past. The meaning of everything that comes before us is conditioned on all the past out of which it has come. The human story is a unit; we do not really know any of it until we know all of it. In a large sense, therefore, the study of history does grow out of this fundamental problem of adjustment to the great social process, and history does shed light upon modern problems. It will do so, however, only to the extent that we have really entered into the meaning of the past. The study of history, therefore, as mere fact, is peculiarly confusing and self-deceptive. So far from shedding light upon personal problems, it often intrenches people in their prejudices. Accepting the story of the past as a mere record, they easily identify themselves and their interests with the most estimable actors and feel that they would have so acted in those situations. They grasp the external order of events and accept the verdict which has been put upon the issues of the past. They applaud the great liberal movements which have emancipated men. They honor the prophets, the patriots, the revolutionists (that is, the successful ones), the martyrs, and the reformers. They are heroic over conflicts that have been won, and liberal upon issues that are settled. They cannot understand how people could ever have worshiped idols, or cared about tithing mint and anise and cummin while neglecting the weightier matters of law; how they could have defended indulgences or believed in the divine right of kings; how they could have doubted the theories of Copernicus, Galileo, or Newton; how they could have failed to ally themselves with Washington and the pa-

triots; how they could have opposed Shaftesbury in his beneficent reforms. But they have never recovered the actual situations of the past nor entered into the experiences which they so easily assess. Having simply learned the outward form of the story, they have never dramatized it in their minds. To such men Jesus said, "Your fathers slew the prophets and ye garnish their sepulchres." If they translated the symbols which are in their books into the vital human experiences which were the reality, they might be surprised to find themselves in agreement with those whom history has condemned. Let it be repeated, *nobody has knowledge unless he has entered into the original experiences that have been handed down as knowledge.*

LITERATURE EXPERIENCE

The child's introduction to literature in the form of stories always has the experiential quality. The books of adventure and romance are of the same nature. We live with the characters; we play the various rôles; we pass judgment on the actors. But when we come to school literature and to church literature, the case is different. Then we have lessons that have to be learned, and the human experience is often lost. Why should not the child from the beginning realize that everything written has come out of the desire of some writer to express a human interest? He was not trying to present grammatical or syntactical puzzles; he was not engaged in arranging a plot for students to discover; he was not concerned with the use of words that would require recourse to a dictionary; he was presenting a phase of human experience. "The Elegy in a Country Churchyard" is a mood of wonder about whether conditions make life or life controls

conditions. It sets us wondering and unites the company of us who read and think about it in a simple philosophical experience. *The Vision of Sir Launfal* is the experience of charity. The pupils who read it may give money for foreign missions and refuse to receive the colored child into their classes. Have they really dramatized the situation? The Book of Judges is a picturesque treatment of the theme that goodness always results in prosperity while wrongdoing is always punished. Why did the writer think that such was the fact? What human experience bears it out, and what contradicts it? What do we think about God's dealings with men when they do right and when they do wrong? The Book of Job is a dramatic poem in which this question of human suffering is debated. We enter into the debate, we follow the dramatic development; we sympathize with the effort of the poet to work out this profound human problem.

We do not go to the study of literature primarily to secure help upon some immediate problem; we go there for more abundant living.[1] As history is the story of what man has done in fact, so literature is the presentation of what man might have done. The human experiment is there carried on in imagination. On its lower levels literature is simply to entertain us by giving us familiar acquaintance with interesting people who are engaged in

[1] For what problem would one have recourse to the plays of Shakespeare? We do not go to *Othello* for warning against jealousy, nor to *Hamlet* to cause us to avoid indecision, nor to the historical plays to learn how to be patriotic. To be sure the student who wants to know the spirit of Elizabethan England must know Shakespeare. If that is the meaning of problem, there can be no objection to the term. But many are using it far more particularly. Shakespeare is a "life-situation" just because he is glorious. A good teacher says, "Come with me and I will help you to find out how glorious he is."

interesting activities. On its higher levels literature is concerned with the interpretation of life, and its value for us depends upon our ability to identify the situations and the human motives. Charles Reade showed a fine psychological insight in picturing the brutal jailer reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and bitterly denouncing the wickedness of Legree.

Doubtless the finer types of literature, especially poetry and drama, are not easy to understand. It is the task of pedagogy so to open up the way to the promise of interesting experience that the student will feel the value of working for it. The tragedy of literary study is to do the critical work and fail to enter into the experience. "This ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone."

GEOGRAPHY EXPERIENCE

Geography has become a human study as it is viewed as the habitat of man's great experiment of living. How stupid to teach children facts about the earth and to be satisfied if they can remember them for examination.

A geographer threw upon a stereoptican screen a picture showing the indented coasts of the Japanese islands. You see at once that the inhabitants will be fishermen. He tells you that the islands contain no coal or minerals, but that the soil and climate are favorable to the mulberry tree; hence the people raise silkworms in abundance. You think of a vigorous, increasing, ambitious people on a limited territory, catching fish and raising silkworms. Just across the sea is vast China with untold mineral wealth in her hills. The lecturer was not preaching; he was teaching geography; but inevitably he pre-

sented the economic problem[1] that lay before the Japanese people, and asked what should be the reaction of the American living on his rich continent to the problem of the island Japanese. He must enter sympathetically into the experience of those people; he must feel their tension and look out upon the Asiatic continent with their eyes; he must contemplate the future with their hopes and fears. If he is not able to do that, he is not studying geography. If anyone objects that you can learn the facts without undertaking to follow them into their social consequences, we can only repeat that facts without meanings do not constitute knowledge.

It was because the Israelites had no harbors that they had to make alliance with the commercial Phoenicians, exchanging their agricultural products for the luxuries and arts of their seagoing neighbors. Noble palaces, couches of ivory, musical instruments, and exquisite jewelry were very attractive to the developing tastes of the Hebrew aristocrats. Why should that rude radical, Amos, presume to dictate to his betters? He is a man of the common people, obsessed by class consciousness; what does he know of the refinements that are bringing Israel into the world's culture? So the prophetic problem, like so many others, goes back to geography.

Again we say that children will not generally seek geographical knowledge primarily to solve their own problems, if by that we mean to settle some immediate uncertainty. The search for new experience takes them to the story of man, which is the greatest and most inclusive of all problems. That story is always located on

[1] Their problem which becomes ours as we sympathetically dramatize their situation.

the earth, it is largely conditioned by topographical situations. How do men live among icebergs? What kind of life developed when men dwelt on a narrow ribbon of fertile land formed by the river that made its way through the desert? How did our own pioneer history develop along the seacoast, up the rivers, on the shores of the Great Lakes? Why did the New England traders ship slaves to the South, and why were the cotton plantations developed? All these questions lead to widening areas of imaginative living. As we answer them together, they unite us in the common fellowship of common knowledge. We develop our social experience as we enter into geography experience. To be sure, these questions may arise as problems, and we may go to the geography for the answer. But far more often we do not see these problems. We start with the geography experience and discover the human problems as we proceed. This is not the traditional practice of learning facts and waiting for meanings: it is exploring an area of experiential knowledge out of which meanings immediately arise, but which is so rich in social value that enlarged meanings develop as the study proceeds.

BIBLE EXPERIENCE

There is no more fundamental question in religious education than the place of the Bible in social development. When it was regarded as the material of salvation, its place was evident. The first effect of the decline of this view was to increase the interest in the *scientific* study of the Bible. The modern movement in religious education began in an emphasis on the use of the historical method, and many Sunday schools changed their names to Bible schools. The better type of textbook produced

in the first decade of the century was mainly designed to enable students to secure a more thorough study of the Bible.

THE ARGUMENT AGAINST BIBLE STUDY

The objection to the content-centered curriculum very fittingly includes objection to a Bible-centered curriculum. Moreover, there are not a few thoughtful leaders in religious education who are seriously questioning whether the Bible has very much place in the training of children today. A strong case can be made for their position. We are all agreed that our main concern is with moral and religious conduct. The value of proper story material for motivating conduct is generally recognized. But we endeavor to be quite sure that the story material which we employ presents the type of conduct that we desire the children either to emulate or definitely to avoid, and the difference between these two is always manifest. We seek to guard them from stories where socially undesirable conduct is approved or is represented as interesting. But in the Bible we are often confronted with statements of God's approval of conduct which we regard as very unsatisfactory. We understand that this is the result of primitive conceptions and that the Bible presents to us an ethical development from lower to higher morality. But why should we teach our children bad ethics as a stage in the understanding of good ethics? We do not do this very much outside of religion. We do not teach them the history of property rights in order to show them that they must not run over their neighbor's flower beds, or the history of sex relations to promote modesty, or the history of games to inculcate fair play, or the history of the family to develop right relations at home. This would

be utterly confusing, often presenting the very contrary of that which we desire to teach. Why then should we give to children erroneous views of God—Yahweh instigating murders and rapine, sending lying spirits, preventing a man from repenting in order to be able to punish him? To be sure, it was from such rude conceptions that the prophetic progress was made to the God of righteousness. But why not give the children the God of the prophets and of Jesus at once?

Again, why confuse young people with the New Testament apocalyptic messianism and doctrine of redemption, laboriously explaining to them the while that we do not believe as the apostles believed? Why not give the children our own religion, as we believe it today, using the Bible as we use all other literature simply in its finest extracts? Taken as a whole, it belongs to the student of the history of religion and not to the modern Christian. It is accumulated experience, but the experience is too remote to be shared by our youth.

The foregoing argument is in outline what many thoughtful educators are urging in their demands for a more vital religious curriculum. It has much cogency and cannot be lightly put aside. There are, however, some other considerations which have weight.

THE BIBLE AS A POPULAR CLASSIC

The common knowledge of the Bible which has been possessed by the religious group has had a very significant social value in the unifying and enrichment of the common life. It has been the one classic with which the common people were familiar.[1] They called their children

[1] This has been well presented by Faunce, *The Educational Ideal in the Ministry*, chap. iii, "Modern Uses of Ancient Scripture."

after the Bible heroes; they illustrated their conversation with biblical incidents; they were ready with apt quotations; they understood biblical allusions in newspapers, magazines, and books. This common knowledge of the Bible was the basis of their worship. They recognized the Scripture which the minister read; they understood the references in his sermons; they appreciated the biblical imagery and symbolism of the hymns. How much all this meant in the development of a common life it would be difficult to estimate. It is not a sufficient ground on which to base the retention of Bible study, nor is the interest of being able to appreciate biblical allusions in literature; but it is an element for consideration.

THE BIBLE AS TRADITION

Our religion, like everything else that we possess, is traditional; it is rooted in the past; it is inspired by great memories; it has grown out of glorious experiences. Just as we cannot reach the fullest patriotism if we have only the American experience of today and none of that great experience of three hundred years of our racial achievement on this continent, so we can have only a meager Christian experience if we live only in the religion of today and have no dramatic fellowship with the great souls who achieved our religion. Not that a mere external knowledge of the facts is important, but experience, the living again of the life of the great past.

The religion that we wish to share with our children is forward-looking: it is more concerned with making the world a better place for religious living than in discovering the origin of its ideals and the history of its hopes. But these two are not incompatible; they are not alternatives. As we sympathetically recover the experience of

our spiritual ancestors and find the noblest of them ever looking forward, never satisfied, always critical of social achievement, shall we not feel that we have a tradition of progress, and go forward the more voluntarily and hopefully?

A consideration not to be overlooked is that the Bible cannot be ignored. If it is not understood right, it will be understood wrong. It is here present with its tremendous traditional power, with its unparalleled prestige. It will be used for every fanaticism and obscurantism. We must teach the Bible in order to save our children from the confusing influences of its improper presentation.

POSITIVE VALUES IN THE BIBLE

While the foregoing considerations must be given due weight, they are not sufficient to make biblical knowledge of high importance in religious education. Ultimately those portions of the Bible, and only those, whose experiential value contributes to the significance of social living will have place in the educational program. What is there in the Bible that can contribute to the enlarging life, to social fellowship, to progressive moral achievement, to religious faith of the young people of today?

If we take the simple story material, free from theologizing, not only our own but also that of the biblical writers themselves, there is a fascinating body of epic narrative which no culture could afford to lose. Perhaps we study it too much and read it too little. Certainly we homiletize it too much. Perhaps it should be presented to young children not in its classic form but in simpler language. Dr. Lyttleton,[1] ex head master of Eton, has

[1] *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, December 31, 1926, p. 533.

told us that his little daughter was so interested in Church's *Stories of Homer* that she rushed off to repeat them to her nurse. The simple epic presentation of life, giving her an acquaintance with interesting people who did fascinating things, enriched her experience. She lived in old Greece with the heroes. The stories belonging to the prophetic strata of the Old Testament are scarcely less interesting. They should be separated from the priestly narratives and from later editorial additions and retold in simple language preserving the epic flavor of the original. Children can readily retranslate them into the experience of the actors. Not all of them have high religious quality, though this is by no means wanting; but they constitute the folk-lore of our religion, and as such they enlarge our common social experience.

The great religious material of the Old Testament is in the social prophets. This is difficult in literary form, in symbolism, and in historical background. The story of the prophets must be retold if it is to be accessible to boys and girls. The objection will be raised: Why teach the children what these people of long ago had to say in social situations so vastly different from our own? But why teach anything? Only if it enlarges life, helps one to be bigger, better, more effectively human. We shall not teach the prophets as necessary content. But it is worth while knowing something about the way that the moral struggle has gone on, how men have longed for righteousness and striven for it, how superbly they have believed that this human life of ours could be just and generous. Some of us have entered into that rich experience, and we think the young people would be glad to share its beauty and its power. We have never seen the prophets

dramatically presented to people without evoking the keenest interest. The re-experience of that body of knowledge always enlarges life.

The lyric poetry of the Old Testament will for the most part be used as literature of devotion. We shall use it as we need it, finding there beautiful expressions of our faith and hope. Piety readily enters into the experience of those songs of the religious life. The didactic poetry will probably have a like practical value; the pregnant proverbs often giving us the desired expression of practical wisdom.

What place will the gospels have in religious education? The early church was united in the common experience of Jesus as the divine Savior through whom they had eternal life. Christ as the object of faith has been the great social fact in Christian history. We are today more concerned with that unique moral and religious experience which Jesus achieved in his brief career in Palestine long ago. Can we understand what he did, what he said, how he undertook to solve this baffling problem of human life? We are developing a new community of religious interest in asking these questions and in seeking to answer them. It is not content that we are after in any formal sense but experience, most emphatically. We want to dramatize Jesus, to play his rôle, to feel as he felt. A new type of discipleship is developing, not the company of believers in his redemptive work, but the company of those who are seeking to follow him in his fellowship with God and his devotion to human good. We must all know the gospels because we must all share this rich experience. Doubtless, exact technical knowledge is very difficult. Such knowledge is difficult in any sphere. Each of us

must know it as best he can—children and youth as their experience makes the knowledge possible; adults as they are able to follow the course of scholarly research. But the most significant result of it all will be that we shall have an enlarging Jesus experience. The idealism which is the goal of all our education may be very vitally related to this experience.

The New Testament is mainly the literature that developed out of the problems of the early church. These problems are often obscure, so that much of the New Testament belongs only to the more technical student of the history of religion. But implicit in the New Testament is the story of the rise of Christianity, perhaps the most significant and dramatic movement in human history. Young people need not necessarily study it from the original sources—there are many parts of the New Testament which are far too difficult for them to read. But if there is any interest or value in reliving any experience of man, surely the story of this extraordinary movement, with its heroic figures and its sublime devotions, furnishes that interest. Once more let it be said, Education does not demand a knowledge of the New Testament as "content" but does recognize one of the richest experiences in all the human career into which people who want to live largely would be glad to enter.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Visit a class in the elementary school. Note whether the knowledge which the children are achieving has the experiential nature. If it has not, what criticism would you make of the material or of the teaching technique?

2. Visit a history class in the high school. Are the children reinterpreting an experience or reciting facts?

3. Make a similar study of a class in geography and of a class in literature.

4. Examine a biblical textbook prepared for high school or college. Is it concerned with knowledge as fact or as experience?

5. In what sense is the homiletic treatment of the Bible or of any literature experiential? What value has it?

6. Visit a church or college class engaged in Bible study. Note whether the material is (*a*) studied as fact, (*b*) considered homiletically, (*c*) experienced. If this seems to you a just distinction, state clearly what it implies. If you disagree with the writer state and sustain your objection.

7. Examine a current Sunday-school quarterly. Note the treatment of the ethical quality of the biblical material. Is it in accord with our best standards? Is it apologetic? Is the ethical teaching well fitted for the grade for which it is prepared?

8. Study a file of a significant newspaper for a month. Note the editorials and reported speeches. Make a list of the biblical allusions and estimate their significance. How accurate are they in quotation and in historical meaning? Do they indicate anything regarding the social value of the possession of this common body of knowledge?

9. Make a similar study of several different magazines.

10. Consider a boy reading a detective story. How do the written symbols on the page become experience? What is the process of mental dramatization that goes on as he reads? How might the story of the stoning of Stephen be similarly experienced? What knowledge would the boy secure in each case? What would be the function of that knowledge in his educational development?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Estimate the knowledge that you possessed before you could read. How did you secure it? Define it in terms of experience. How did it function in making you a member of your group?

2. Make a similar estimate of the knowledge which you acquired apart from books, up to twelve years of age.

3. Consider whether any of your literate knowledge was of a less experiential value than the foregoing. Did it have any less function in uniting you with the group?

4. Endeavor to recall some body of school knowledge which you consider was genuinely experiential. Estimate the functional value of such knowledge. What was the psychology of the learning process? What is the meaning of "content" in such an experience?

5. What religious knowledge did you possess when you were nine years old? What were the sources of this knowledge? How far was it experiential? How much of it was memory material which you were expected to recite? Consider how the different types of knowledge united you with the groups in which you lived.

6. Did you ever learn a catechism? Endeavor to recall your attitude toward it. Had it any social value to you? Would you teach a child in the same way?

7. Mary Antin in *The Promised Land* states that she had always known that the patriarchs were her forefathers but they seemed far-away and unreal. When she learned of George Washington as the father of his country, she felt that he belonged to her. What is the psychological explanation of this? Did you have any similar experience regarding Bible characters?

8. Recall your earliest experiential Bible knowledge. What was its character? How did it function?

9. Recall some biblical knowledge which was given to you in an attempt to meet some life-situation. How did it function?

10. Recall some biblical knowledge which was intended to motivate. How did it function?

11. Recall some biblical knowledge which was presented as an old experience to be relived. How did this function?

12. Consider your present biblical knowledge. In what ways does it unite you with the religious group? How far would you call it "content"? Is there any of it which is not now experiential? If so, why is this the case? Have you a larger knowledge than would be valuable to your children?

CHAPTER IX

THE MEANING OF CURRICULUM

CURRICULUM AND EDUCATION

The curriculum is the educational program. It is the program of activities progressively arranged with a view to achieving the educational goal. It is determined, therefore, by the conception of education. If education is thought of primarily as the acquisition of knowledge, the curriculum is a course of study. When reference is made to extra-curricular activities, the expression implies that the activities are outside of the educational process. They can have nothing to do with education or they would be included in the curriculum.

The educational system of the great English public schools is often cited as an example of curriculum rigidly conceived in intellectual terms. This, however, was never the case. The educational aim of those schools was not classical scholarship but the development of the English gentleman. Holding that the knowledge of Latin, Greek, and mathematics constituted culture and that these studies were the best discipline for the mind, they naturally included them in the curriculum. But they also included athletics, religion, and community life under the leadership of the masters. Cricket and catechism were just as much a part of the curriculum as Homer and Virgil, and the master was chosen not for his classical scholarship—that was assumed as the least difficult qualification—but for his ability as a manly leader of boys. There

were no extra-curricular activities in those schools. That is why, in spite of the tedious course of study, which was utterly wasted on nine boys out of ten, they did succeed in developing such a remarkable proportion of leaders in all the important walks of life. Having as their objective to make an English gentleman, they organized a program of activities which they hoped would reach that end. It remained for a different type of school to think of itself as concerned with intellectual achievement alone.

When education is conceived as progressive socialization, the curriculum must be so conceived. To include extra-curricular activities in your program of socialization is only confusing, for they are in the nature of the case intra-curricular. If there are moral values in play which we are concerned to secure, play must be part of the curriculum. It must be integrated in the educational program. There is a kind of poetic vengeance that as a result of our refusal to incorporate large areas of youthful interest in our recognized educational program, the young people have excluded intellectual subjects from what they call their "activities." That school curriculum and the students' activities are mutually exclusive spheres is the sublimest reach of educational absurdity.

If we take the religious view that a Great Goodness is seeking through us the achievement of the highest human life in social relationships, then the curriculum is the program of activities through which experience will be organized and directed toward the progressive realization of this type of life. If need scarcely be said that study of a noble piece of literature is as definitely an activity as a basket-ball game or a class party. Certainly the practice of the presence of God is an activity.

A PROGRAM FOR CHILD LIFE

One of the most important conditions of such a program is that it shall be for the child instead of for the particular institution—home, school, church, or what not—which is educating the child. Our difficulty is that we are not planning a curriculum but a series of unrelated institutional curricula. Moreover, each institution regards itself as having the primary responsibility for the educational process. The parents naturally think that the child is theirs and that they send him to school and to church for specific training. The school thinks of itself as the only real educational institution, and faces the problem of securing the co-operation of the parents in carrying out the school plan. The church, with its insistence on the supremacy of spiritual values, regards itself as primarily responsible for the moral life of the child and seeks the co-operation of the home to that end. Boy and Girl Scouts, High Y clubs, Girl Reserves, Christian Endeavor societies, and a score of other organizations have programs of their own designed to assist the development of youth. Each of these, with more or less relation to the major educational institutions, is seeking the loyalty of a young constituency. Outside all of these are the commercial agencies offering attractive amusements and making no attempt at correlation with other interests.

These institutions are often in clear competition with one another. The school is seeking to control more time, taking over many of the play interests and using the festivals which were formerly the educational opportunity of the church. The church is so clamorous for more time that it is even seeking legislative help for the release of the children from the school. Some parents are wondering

whether family life is to be made impossible. A mother said, "They have a new official at the church, a director of religious education, whose business seems to be to keep my children from ever being at home." Each group that believes itself valuable is making appeal to the interest and loyalty of the young people, who are sometimes sorely tried with the conflicting demands upon their time and attention.

How is the boy or girl who is the subject of all these programs to achieve any unitary experience? How are they to get any sense of proportion, any appreciation of the hierarchy of values? Confusion is only made worse confounded when it is supposed that the different stimuli appeal to different "sides" of human nature, as the physical, social, mental, and religious sides. We cannot split ourselves up into such constituent elements. Education would be very much simplified if we could send a child's body to the gymnasium, his mind to school, his social nature into the amusement hall, and his soul to church. But the whole child is always present; his whole personality is affected in each partial reaction of the organism. One experience carries into another, all tending to some sort of integration or disintegration of the self. It is a spiritual personality that joins the game and responds to all the social and mental stimuli of the players; it is a psychophysical organism that spends five hours at school, nerves and muscles tingling to be active; it is an alert mind that goes to church to ask questions about accepted doctrine; it is a fun-loving social creature who is set to study the Sunday-school lesson.

This is not intended as a criticism of the excellent programs developed by the Canadian efficiency scheme and

the Young Men's Christian Association, or of the score card of the four-square life. There is much practical value in facing a boy with the problem of the adequate development of all the interests of his life. The leaders of these movements are recognizing that the score cards are only a means to an end and that their chief value is in establishing an opportunity of consultation between the mentor and the boy, so that there may be organized a program to meet his particular needs and his particular deficiencies. Definite activities should be undertaken because of their special value in certain directions. There are certain exercises which are primarily for the bodily development, certain activities which particularly afford intellectual satisfaction, certain associations which especially promote social fellowship, certain opportunities which are peculiarly rich in evaluating life in its larger meanings. But it must be constantly borne in mind that these are not vital distinctions, and, especially, that the various types of development cannot be divided among the various institutions. The hygienic and moral aspects of amusement, the social conditions of play, the fellowships of religion, the community life of the school, the opportunity for large outlooks on the world in the table talk of the family, the spiritual suggestions of nature on the hike or in the nature-study trip, the religious suggestions of art—all these indicate how interrelated are all our activities and how the complete personality is developing through all of them.

The children need a unitary program; how can they get it from the institutions struggling to secure their attention? Fortunately there are some earnest endeavors and experiments being made to correlate the educational

procedures. Parent-teachers associations between home and school, and sometimes between home and church, have developed very valuable co-operation. In some communities the boys' work council has been able to exercise a large supervision of all social activities carried on for boys. There are also cases in which a similar correlation of girls' activities are being made. The large co-operation of church, Christian association, school, and home in the Canadian programs for boys and girls is suggestive of further possibilities. In some localities the school has definitely left free one night a week to allow place for the church interest. Many significant attempts of this kind are under way, all indicating the desirability of a more far-reaching unification.

A COMMUNITY CURRICULUM

Is it too much to hope that the community, as such, should undertake the organization of an educational program for its young people? There might be a council in which all educational institutions should be represented, not for each to look after its own interests that it might get a sufficient recognition, but to see what it could contribute to the common purpose. Some boys and girls should be on the council; perhaps the manager of the picture theater might be included; the directors of play would certainly be needed. There should be no difficulty in the presence of ministers, priests, and rabbis in this curriculum-making body, for the purpose of the program would be to allot to the church and to the synagogue, as to each other educational institution, its proper place in the educational scheme, even including the recognition of the parochial school with its very engrossing functions.

In the nature of the case, such a council would not have power to impose a hard-and-fast program upon all the institutions of the community; but it would seek the co-operation of all in the endeavor to secure agreement on such plans for the developing life of the young people as would conserve all the values held by the various elements comprising the community.

The consideration of the unitary program for the young people would be based on a survey of their current experiences. The council would have at its command the various studies and the various instruments for study which have been prepared. It would have the advice of experts upon each element in the projected program.

MORNING AT HOME AND IN SCHOOL

Let us assume, for the sake of starting a sketch of this possible curriculum, that a beginning would be made with the most fundamental organization of life, namely, the division between the waking and sleeping hours of the children of each age. Significant studies are available regarding the proper requirements of sleep for growing children. Some understanding of this important matter might lead to definite community agreements that would set limits to the use of the evening; that is to say, if a community were really in earnest about its own children it might organize its evening life with reference to the proper bedtime for children of various ages. Such a community recognition would be of immeasurable help to parents endeavoring to develop the right habits in the young people.

The council would then study the best program for the early morning hours. What would start a child off

for the day in the best fashion? Here are questions of health; of family organization; of religion, including the question of mood and disposition at the beginning of the day (some communities are broadcasting a simple morning worship); of dietetics; of co-operation in the family work; of the child's care of his own clothing and of his own room. What time should the school begin in view of this home program? Is the Gary Plan of an adjustable schedule advisable?

As the study moved forward to the phases of the curriculum especially intrusted to the school, the fact would become apparent that the school, instead of thinking of itself as beginning with the morning bell, is really taking up a program that has already been going on for some time. The happy transition from the home to the school is an important consideration. Why should not the problems that arise in the active life of the home be the subject of study in the school where there is time and opportunity to find out the things that we want to know. Suppose Johnny wants four heaping spoonfuls of sugar on his breakfast food. Instead of telling him that he must not have it because it is bad for him, his mother might say, "I wonder if it is good for a little boy to have so much sugar. The doctors have been studying how much sugar is good for us. Let us write a note to the teacher and ask her to have the class look up the question and find out about eating sugar." Or the question arises at the breakfast table as to the purity of the water. There has been some suggestion that it ought to be boiled. Father, instead of assuming the rôle of omniscience which is supposed to belong to him, says to one of the children, "Tell the teacher that we are anxious to know what are the re-

ports of the Health Department on the condition of the water and bring us the information." It might result in a committee of the pupils being sent to the health officer to get his report, to a discussion of the question of water supply, to a social understanding of the significance of community life as dependent upon these fundamental needs.

These are merely suggestions of the many ways in which the school as the place of study might receive problems from the home and return information to the home, linking parents, teachers, and children in a common social life. But would not such invasions of special interests interfere with the school curriculum? Such a question loses sight of the fact that in this imaginary community which we are sketching we have not as yet any school curriculum. We have only a community council developing a curriculum for young life. It has up to this point reached a consideration of the correlation of the school with the morning home experience.

In a similar manner the school, as the place for finding out the things that we want to know, will be the rationalization of the community experience. How is this interesting life of ours carried on? What is the meaning of the postman, the policeman, the fireman, the milkman, the delivery boy, the health officer, the plumber, the carpenter, the electrician? The answers to these questions give us an intelligent understanding of the experiences of the social life of today. The children might go down to the city hall to find out about municipal housekeeping and all the co-operative enterprises by which we carry on our common interests. They might visit the law courts to discover how the adjustments of human relations are made.

The numbering and measuring experiences of life would become intelligible in the science of mathematics. School is the place where we find out all the interesting information that we need to possess and where we acquire the skills that we must use in our life in the world and with our fellows. But it is always integrated with the rest of experience.

INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS AS LIFE-SITUATIONS

So far, we have followed what has come to be called the "life-situation approach to the curriculum," and perhaps have suggested the project method of study. Both of these need modification by a principle too little taken into account in some current educational discussion, namely, the genuine intellectual interests of young people. It is sometimes supposed that the pupil always starts with some immediate problem arising in his own life and that he reaches out into history, literature, science, to secure help to solve the problem. Doubtless this is a very significant method of securing usable knowledge. It is the method indicated above. Moreover, the attempts to solve the problems that thus arise are very often genuine projects to be worked out according to the methods of that significant pedagogy. But we must use the problem concept more generally than this. A real intellectual interest is a life-situation. When a class is set at ten o'clock in the morning and announced as a study of the way in which the Mississippi Valley was settled, where the people came from, how they lived, how they turned the wilderness into fruitful farms and busy cities, what inventions made the enterprise possible; and when the announcement is made in such a way as to secure from the pupil the re-

sponsive purpose to find out that great story, then a primary life-situation is developed and the student goes forward into the great social experience of reliving the history of his people. The problem of the pioneer becomes his problem. He feels that he can only live his own American life as he finds out how they lived theirs. It is part of the duty of the school to kindle intellectual interest so that an increasing number of people may be introduced into the rich experience of creative thinking. Knowledge purpose is just as natural as play interest, only it is not so easily evoked; in its higher ranges it is not so inevitable. All that is needed to demonstrate intellectual interest is to visit a school where teachers and students are making vital excursions into the fields of knowledge. The "creative purpose" evident in the Williams Institute of Berkeley, California, is a case in point.

The community council organizing a program for the child would therefore include very much of the material that is at present in the school curriculum. The difference would be largely in the direction of that vitalization of the knowledge experience which was discussed in the last chapter.

AFTERNOON AND EVENING PROGRAMS

What is the best arrangement at noon for the different classes? Problems of physical health here arise, including the question of transportation. Perhaps the midday meal should be served at the school. Perhaps, as in the Gary Plan, opportunity should be given for the children to return home to assist in the housekeeping duties. Everything must be worked out to avoid undue fatigue, and the question of a period of recreation must be considered.

What is the best afternoon program for each age? Shall it be altogether under the direction of the school? Has the church any contribution to make—a matter not to be settled offhand, but requiring much more careful study than it has yet received; particularly not to be settled by oratory and by assumptions that the absence of Bible study is responsible for juvenile delinquency.

What are the natural play groups? This also is not to be decided by any one institution for itself. The community council would make a most careful study of this subject. Perhaps neighborhood groups, perhaps church groups, perhaps school class groups. We must find out where the most natural and fruitful fellowships develop. Several good hours of play must be provided in the afternoon, with care that its highest educational values are received, always including the best sense of freedom.

The curriculum will include the evening. Is home study advisable? The parents and the young people will have something to contribute at this point. It will involve a consideration of the conditions of home study. Should evenings be spent at the school in the preparation of plays, debates, pageants? Can the church profitably employ any of the evenings? Where should Scouts, High Y, and the rest come in?

Let it be again insisted that no council could dictate a prescribed program. We are not suggesting a regimentation of young life, but an evaluation of all the opportunities afforded by the institutions of education in order to discover something of the way in which each might be most useful. As community interest developed, the desire for a co-operative program would become stronger, until at last a real unity of effort might be obtained.

The place of the motion picture would be carefully

considered. Some communities have been able by united action to secure control of this most valuable and most dangerous institution. Such an educational council as we are here considering could have great influence in determining the character of the pictures presented and in creating a public sentiment regarding the attendance of the young people. The evening meal might be planned so that the early performance could be attended and late hours for the younger children avoided.

THE SATURDAY PROGRAM

How is Saturday to be employed? This weekly holiday holds great educational opportunity which is very little utilized. The young people naturally feel that it is their one day of freedom. Perhaps, if we succeed in developing a more satisfactory and less hurried program for the week, there will be more sense of freedom every day. But in any case, Saturday should be a different day. Many interests will be considered—recreation, excursions into the country in fine weather and to the museums when the out-of-doors is less inviting, work in the home for the development of family responsibility,[1] the earning of money (this should be carefully studied as part of the curriculum), amusement in the evening.

SCHOOL STUDIES AND CHURCH PAGEANTS

Sunday is a problem in education which the whole community ought to face. In a later chapter we shall dis-

[1] Some schools are giving credit for domestic work satisfactorily performed. Perhaps in such a community scheme as we are here suggesting, some better method of integrating such work in the common program could be devised. In any case, group credits are better than individual credits.

cuss the significance of worship in human experience. Sunday morning worship is a great Christian tradition which by all means we ought to keep. Our denominationalism seems to separate us so hopelessly that nothing like a community program would appear to be feasible. There are possibilities, however, in a new educational use of the church year. The schools are giving increasing attention to Thanksgiving, Christmas, the national holidays; so much so that the churches often feel aggrieved that a legitimate and important part of their educational opportunity has been taken away. The community council might plan some fine co-operation.

At the risk of apparent digression, a significant project may be described that was undertaken in an experimental school in St. Louis. It took place during November when the Thanksgiving festival was approaching. The whole school was engaged in studying the various ways in which man has responded to the miracle of harvest, each class making a special study of a particular people. The youngest class took the New England practice as the most familiar. The next went over to the English ancestry and looked up the Harvest Home customs. Other classes investigated different European peoples. An advanced class went over all the biblical references with a view to an understanding of the Feast of Tabernacles. The head class studied the Egyptian practice, going to the public library to examine the reproductions of Egyptian art in which the harvest festival appears. It was a great common experience, a study of man in one of his universal moods. Differences of national custom only augmented the sense of human solidarity. It was educationally valuable—historically, sociologically, artis-

tically. The whole undertaking culminated in a pageant in which each class presented some phase of its investigation.

Why should there not be some such serious study in the schools culminating in pageants in the churches? The church is a far better place for pageantry than the school. The church is for young and old, and religion naturally expresses itself in dramatic form. How valuable it would have been for those St. Louis children to understand that all people have had their different ways of celebrating harvest, through all of which runs a deep unity, and that today we have different forms of religion in all of which we express our thanks to God; we shall therefore take what we have learned in the school together and use it in our different churches, receiving there the religious interpretation which our own group gives to it.

Details of such a co-operation would have to be worked out, but there are some fine possibilities whereby our very religious differences would appear in their true light as varying interpretations of fundamental unities.

Similarly, schools could study the experiences of different peoples at the winter solstice, to which each Christian church would give its own interpretation and nativity pageant, while Jewish congregations, instead of feeling the necessity of protesting against the observance of a Christian festival in the schools, would be perfectly free to substitute their own ethnic interpretation. The vernal equinox offers a similar opportunity. If the schools took the time which is at their disposal to study what the marvel of the recurring spring has meant in the experience of the race, they would open up mythology, history, literature, art—a most rewarding expansion of social sym-

pathy. In the schools, too, might be carried on the detailed studies necessary for the church pageants in costume, furniture, and historical practices. At this point the various churches would take the children in hand for the presentation of beautiful Easter pageants, while the synagogues would train their own children in the pageant of Passover.

If such a co-operation of church and school were effected, we could bring into our worship some of those dramatic elements which are now so wanting, and a variety which we now painfully endeavor to secure only in our sermon topics. If anyone is fearful that a pageant as a substitute for a regular preaching service would lower the religious tone of the church, let him note what is happening in churches which have thus endeavored to recover the old religious significance of the church year. The writer acted as preacher in a church for a number of years partly that he might thus be able to try out some of these educational experiments. The staid congregation, looking at first askance on such introductions of "Sunday-school performances" into the church service, came to anticipate with interest the recurring pageants as giving high significance to the season's festival and as uniting the family in a common religious experience. The preacher himself in a brief sermon on Christmas Sunday found it possible to point out more clearly than any mere sermon by itself could do, that the angels, the magi, and the miraculous birth were the natural symbols of spiritual meanings, and that religion is not to be apprehended so much by logic as by art. Hymns, pictures, myths, and miracles are the language of religious insight and of religious feeling. Children and adults alike sense their

meaning. It was a great communal worship by entire families, something like the great religious festivals when the race was young.

The vexed question regarding what is religious in education would be met in any such scheme of co-operation between church and school, not by definition, but by distinction of institutional function. Those phases of study of human life which belong in the realm of common human experience would be carried on in the schools. The religious interpretations and ecclesiastical expressions of the human experience would be carried on in the churches. Fundamentalist, modernist, Catholic, and Jew would each develop his own worship on the basis of the common social experiences about which there is no dispute. It would make for unity in diversity.

SCHOOL HISTORY AND CHURCH BIBLE STUDY

Co-operation between the schools and the churches would not be confined to these great festivals. There is properly a significant division of labor in the study of religion. We must distinguish between religion as a generalized human interest and *our* religion. As indicated in an earlier discussion, religious education can only mean the development of children in the experience of *a* religious group. We help them to share, not religion in general, but our religion. If we think some children are being educated in a wrong type of religion, we must seek to get them out of the group where that prevails and into our own group. This is religious propaganda or missionary purpose, which has its own legitimate place. But the most satisfactory religious education will always be in the

religious family which is itself a part of a larger religious community, the church.

This double understanding of religion means that we are dealing with a great human experience, which appears in different forms among different peoples and which has its own peculiar meaning to the group to which each of us belongs. Moreover, religion as a motivating force in moral living has its expression in all our social relations. Here then is a clear distinction of function between school and church. Religion in general and the religion of other peoples than our own is a subject for school study. The expression of religion in social conduct is a subject for school practice. The spirit of reverence toward man's religious aspirations is an attitude of school behavior. The traditions, practices, the sacred literature, the worship of a particular type of religion, belong to the church which is the institutional expression of that type. The evaluation of religion in general and as a great human interest would belong especially to the school; and as concerns particular communions, polities, and creeds, it would belong to the church.

We do not want the Bible in the public schools, nor Christian hymns, nor prayers, nor any worship. The schools are not godless because those practices are not observed, any more than a playground is godless because there are no Bibles in it. The subterfuge that we should teach the Bible as history and as literature is absurd, if its advocates are in earnest, and dishonest, if they really know what history and literature mean. The Bible is a literature of religious experiences. You cannot teach the literature without entering into the spirit and purpose of

the writers and reliving the experiences. To teach "In Memoriam" as fact, without considering its meaning as a contemplation of immortality, would be as absurd as teaching the Constitution as fact, without considering its meaning as an instrument of government.

Let the children frankly understand, with no sneers at sectarianism, that the experience of religion is so vital and so significant that each group must follow its own deep convictions. Wherever there are common backgrounds and common ethical results, we study them together in the school; where different religious bodies have variant understanding, each educates its own people in its own way. We ought to be able to do this without calling one another names and without any academic superiority. Of course religious groups must recognize in their turn that they cannot dictate what the school shall teach within its own scientific realm.

What place will the Bible have in such a community program as we are sketching? Probably any systematic study of the Bible ought to wait for the high-school age. Large use will be made of its matchless stories and its beautiful religious expression in connection with children's worship. We should get away from the superstition that it is necessary for a child to possess a heavy volume of fine print, three-quarters of which he does not use, and all of which is confused by its irrational subdivisions. Let us give children the Bible stories as we give them other stories, properly edited and properly printed. Read at home, used in worship, acted in drama, pictured in hymns, consulted for illustration in connection with ethical discussion, the story material will become an abiding possession. A young people's psalm book, care-

fully edited and well printed, would be very valuable for worship and for private devotion. Why should not a boy read such a book as *Paul, Son of Kish* in a few hours and get a picture of Paul instead of spending a year studying verses about him? The great ethical and religious sayings of the Bible may be brought into worship and used in the discussion of ethical problems. We shall do far more in these directions by developing a significant Sunday-morning program of worship with a study of the elements of worship than we shall with most of our week-day Bible schools.[1]

When we come to the high-school age, it is very desirable that an understanding of the history of our religion should be gained.[2] Here school and church might definitely co-operate. The high-school course on history, geography, social life, and literature, of the Nile and of the Tigris-Euphrates valleys, with especial study of Palestinian geography and of the place of the Hebrews in the ancient world, could be accompanied by a course in the churches and the synagogues on the religion of Israel. The most orthodox Christian or Jew could teach it from his point of view; the modernist, the Catholic, the Reformed Jew could each teach the subject as he saw it. Careful scientific work in geography, the movement of

[1] There is no difficulty in getting children to read the Bible in large quantities if we open up its significance. A thirteen-year-old girl, asked by her mother what she had on hand for the evening, replied that she was going to read through the Book of Esther. Her class was dramatizing the story, and she had to work out her own part.

[2] Lest this may seem to be an improper emphasis on "content" we may repeat what was stated in the preceding chapter, that such a course would be an invitation to re-experience the life out of which our own experience has come.

peoples, the development of civilization, the whole Semitic background out of which our religious traditions sprang, could be done in the school. The teacher would most properly explain that the meaning of the Hebrew religion is differently conceived by different religious bodies, and each of them would present its view to its own students. It ought to be quite possible for a strict authoritarian to take up the subject at this point and to explain that among all religions, scriptures, priests, and prophets, there was one that was God-given, just as he is always teaching the children that there is one true religion and many false ones. There should be nothing in the school study to interfere with this perfectly admissible religious position. Doubtless some eager students in the various churches would be anxious to understand the different religious views. There might be some very helpful interchange of interpretation.

Again, it could be arranged between the high school and the churches that a course should be given in Graeco-Roman life, in which there should be special attention to the Hellenizing process which so greatly influenced the Jews. A large part of what is undertaken in church classes could be covered here much more thoroughly, while on the basis of this general study the synagogue would have its course on the development of the Jewish faith in the Roman Empire, including its own interpretation of the Christian movement; and the churches would have the opportunity of studying the rise and spread of Christianity.

If a genuine interest in such studies developed, there might be arranged extra evening classes for young peo-

ple not in high school, to prepare them for the religious study.

Religion is not a subject off by itself. We have got beyond the idea of sacred geography and sacred history. Religion is a phase of the ongoing life of the people. As our religious groups do not all interpret it in the same way, let us agree that each shall interpret it as its own experience suggests.[1]

If some school teachers should consider it beneath their dignity to be teaching history and geography as a basis for religion, let them consider that religion today, whether they like it or not, is to a large extent an interpretation of the past. The church is actually undertaking to teach its people the meaning of the past. This is not to be ignored; it is part of our social procedure. How valuable if the school would undertake in its own scientific manner those phases of interpretation which all religious people would be glad for it to do.

The study of the church year and of the Bible has been discussed at length as a suggestion of co-operation between school and church. It is not intended to indicate that these will be the sole subjects of the Sunday-morning program. There may be many social and religious studies which will be found appropriate. But whether the studies should be biblical or not depends on many cir-

[1] It may be objected that we seem to be emphasizing sectarian differences and providing for their perpetuation, whereas the community week-day schools are minimizing it. The endeavor here is only to recognize differences where they actually exist. So far as groups can work together without difference, so much the better; but it will be long before there will be such a complete elimination of difference as to allow religion to be taught in the public schools.

cumstances. There is at present a somewhat unnatural endeavor to balance biblical and extra-biblical material.[1] A class will use a textbook which contains the material which will help to meet the situation in which it finds itself. When All Souls Church of Chicago undertook some years ago the dramatization of the Book of Job, it needed textbooks explanatory of that superb piece of literature. "Extra-biblical material" would have been superfluous. When the following year it undertook the presentation of Aristophanes' *War-Makers*, it needed books on the Greek plays without any biblical material at all. When the members of the Junior Church, to which reference has already been made, wanted to understand the worship of the early church as the basis for the organization of their own worship, they looked for material interpretative of the New Testament. The books they used are not to be criticized because they do not contain extra-biblical material which, from the standpoint of these particular needs, would have been extra-useful. When the same group studied the peace movement, they did not use the Bible at all. Textbooks designed to help classes in the study of their own ethical problems will very properly make such use of the Bible as the ethical situation demands.

THE SUNDAY-AFTERNOON PROGRAM

We have been led into this discussion of studies from the starting-point of what the council organizing a complete program of education would consider the peculiar possibilities of Sunday morning. The council would continue its studies in working out programs for the remain-

[1] Betts has built his scale for an evaluation of textbooks on this arbitrary principle, *The Curriculum of Religious Education*, p. 343.

der of the day. Here would be a large place for the family.[1] If such a council deliberately put certain family activities into the curriculum, pointing out specific opportunities of family contribution to the total educational process, there would be given a dignity to the family as an educational institution which might help the fathers and mothers to see more clearly their place in the ranks of community education. Differences of opinion would very likely develop regarding the use of Sunday for recreation. No attempt would be made to secure uniformity of practice. The homes and the churches would work out their own plans. But serious study might be stimulated on the part of the young people, with their elders, as to the social values of Sunday and the best means of using the Sabbath for man.

SUNDAY-EVENING PROGRAMS

The most significant programs that are developing for Sunday evening are young people's discussion groups. Here is another possibility of co-operation between school and church. Moral problems will arise in the school life which might well be recognized as having definite religious significance. The community program might set aside certain Sunday evenings for study and prayer on the problems arising in the school and in business. Whether high-school students, college students, and young business men and women would better meet separately to talk over their specific problems, or whether there might be a value in entering sympathetically into the experience of others near to them in age and interest, might be a question. There can be no question of the vital importance of dis-

[1] Cope has some very valuable suggestions on this subject, *Religious Education in the Family*, chap. xiii, "Sunday in the Home."

cussing seriously, and after an investigation of all relevant facts, the ethical problems that each group actually faces. We shall recur to this in a later chapter; suffice it here to note the opportunity for such discussion which is afforded by the young people's church club.[1]

THE SUMMER

The curriculum for young life would not only be for twenty-four hours in the day and seven days in the week, but for twelve months in the year. The community council would have a serious study on its hands when it undertook to consider the significance of the summer months. It is amazing how careless we have been about at least one-sixth of our educational opportunity. The schools complain that they cannot do the work assigned to them, yet they turn the children out on the streets for eight to twelve weeks. Many churches are clamoring for the right to have the children two hours a week during the school term, while they make not the slightest effort to use the summer period which is free to all. The daily vacation bible school, originating as an attempt to bring some religious help to neglected children, is developing into a fairly effective enterprise of religious education. The results achieved with very small resources indicate possibilities of a genuine summer church school. The Dayton Summer School of Religion[2] has proved what can be done by a vigorous church that is in earnest about the religious education of its children.

[1] The enlargement of the young people's society into the dominant Sunday-evening institution is a very interesting development. Shaver's "Young People's Projects" are excellent programs for such an organization.

[2] Krumbine, *A Summer Program for the Church School.*

Most satisfactory results have come from the well-directed summer camps. But these are generally expensive and reach only a very small number of children. Is it too much to hope that some day we might add to the millions spent on our schools some millions on out-of-door schools in summer, giving a great deal of attention to sports, a large opportunity for the study of nature, a return to more primitive habits of living to keep us in touch with the sources of life? If the churches are in earnest about a revival of religion, they might raise the money for such experiments in religious living.

CONDITIONS OF THE COMMUNITY PROGRAM

Perhaps the whole scheme thus outlined may seem fantastic. What community would take so much trouble to make a program for the life of its children? What body of school authorities would be willing to hand over its high prerogative of determining curricula to a community council in which they would have only representation? Would the churches ever come into such a co-operation? Would the parents ever understand what it was all about? Would the many other educational and quasi-educational organizations be willing to take the parts which the representative council would assign to them?

Certainly thoughtful workers in the field of general education, equally with those in religious education, are profoundly dissatisfied with our present confusion. However satisfactory might be the school life, the scientific organization of 15 per cent of the child's program could never properly be called a curriculum. The church is frankly at sea. The pathetic discussions upon "correlation" indicate that religious leaders are simply unable to

get at the heart of the educational problem. They are stopped by the social organization of the community. Earnest parents often find themselves still more helpless. We cannot work out a program for child life unless we work it out together.

But is any community competent to undertake this thoroughgoing task? What good would be an educational council, however enlightened it might be, unless the people are able to understand its findings? Evidently we must go a step farther. We must recognize that if we are to educate our children we must first educate ourselves. We must determine the social goal to which we wish to push forward. The old self-satisfied notion that we shall seek to make the children as intelligent and moral as ourselves must give way to a humbler attitude. Bernard Shaw has reminded us in his cynical fashion that no parent should ever hold himself up to his children as anything but a warning. We have not reached the human society we want. We have not made the kind of society in which children can be satisfactorily educated. We must do it *with* them rather than *for* them. We must associate them with ourselves in creative education. It would involve some very serious adult education in the community that would determine to make a program for young life. Perhaps there would be evening classes, at least there would be meetings for conference and discussion. Some of the church meetings would become definitely classes for the training of educators.

It would lead us farther than this. If our children are to make a study of community life, we shall have to develop a kind of life that we want them to study. Are we willing for them to investigate our factories, our stores,

our business methods, with their eager understanding and their simple sense of justice? Do we want them to go down to the city hall to find out how municipal government is carried on? Should they visit the jail and see how we deal with the unsocialized class, especially with the juvenile offender? If the whole educational enterprise of family, school, and church were carried on with the idea that the children were not simply learners of what is known but, with the adults, critics of the social achievement already reached, and, with the adults, creators of the better community of tomorrow, there might be developed among us something of the religious passion of bringing in the Kingdom of God. Religious education is only succeeding to the extent that the adults of the community are becoming educated in the process. As long as we do it simply as an attempt to train children it will be ineffective. Only as it becomes a co-operative process of achieving social values will it be really significant.

THE PRINCIPLES OF CURRICULUM

The principles of curriculum may be summed up as follows: (1) it is a program for the direction of the child's total experience and must therefore include a consideration of all his relationships, interests, activities, and possibilities; (2) each institution that may contribute to the program shall be given its best opportunity to do so, never for its own sake and to preserve its own prestige, but simply for its ability to create the situations in which the child's experience may be enriched and become socially contributory; (3) education, beginning in the early social experiences of the family group and in adjustments to the world of people and things, shall continue in the

same tenor, developing acquaintance with and adjustment to the ongoing life that lies about the young people, expanding as their interests may take in ever larger surveys of human experience in the widening present and in the ever enlarging past, and in creative planning for the future; (4) educational standards as set up by external authorities will not be determinative[1] (we must have freedom to educate our children as their developing experience points the way. Happily, the church has more freedom than the school and is under no obligation to accept slavishly the standards imposed by Sunday-school boards); (5) the test of the success of the curriculum shall be the enlarging socialization of the whole community life.

We shall work up to this community responsibility by immediate attempts to organize a unified program for our children out of the various educational opportunities now available. The church might well set its children to the study of their own program and, instead of formulating a curriculum of its own, undertake to help the children to organize the experiences through which they are at present passing. Making of itself an evaluating center, it will be leading the children into a religious evaluation of life. The question before the children would be: "In view of home, school, play, and other activities, what do we still need to do and to know?" The answer to that would give the church curriculum. Perhaps it would not present the well-balanced appearance that we should

[1] There are doubtless great values in the development of general standards: college-entrance requirements have improved secondary education, the standards of denominational boards have improved the Sunday schools; but these standards must be elastic.

like to see in a formulated program, but would that matter if the young people were really making progress in rounding out their own program?

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Read Chave, *The Junior*, chap. iii. Endeavor to enter into the experience of these boys and girls as they meet the conflicting demands made upon them in a single day. How satisfactory does the experience seem to be from the educational point of view?

2. Select from your acquaintance three boys or girls of about ten, thirteen, and fifteen years of age, and endeavor to plot their complete program for one week. Consider how far there are any strains occasioned by the conflicting demands of different authorities and divergent interests.

3. What endeavors are being made in your community to develop a unified program for the children and youth such as: (*a*) co-operations between home and school, (*b*) co-operations between home and church, (*c*) co-operations between boy or girl organizations and other educational institutions, (*d*) recognition in the program of one organization of results attained in any other.

4. How far is the elementary school in your community free to make its own program and to co-operate with other organizations? How far is it controlled by external standards and requirements?

5. How far are these same conditions true of the high school?

6. What is the value of external standardizing requirements and what may be their disadvantages? What shall it profit a youth if he gain fifteen Carnegie units and fail to be a socialized citizen of his own community? How are these two interests to be reconciled?

7. Imagine yourself to be a member of such a council as has been suggested in this chapter, and prepare a complete program for the young life of your community. (This piece of work will be more valuable if undertaken by a group of students who might assume the parts of the different members of the council.)

8. Would such a unified program as we have suggested make life too easy for young people? Is there value in throwing them out

into the stream of activities and organizational demands and leaving them to make their own adjustments?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Make a program of a single week of your own life as early as you can recall it. Make another of some week when you were twelve years old, and another when you were sixteen. Consider in each case the nature of the experiences through which you passed, with special reference to whether they were all contributory to a unitary interpretation of life or were conflicting and confusing.

2. How far did your home, school, and church understand one another and work together? Endeavor to recall instances pro and con.

3. If there had been in your childhood community a completely unified program similar to that suggested in this chapter, what difference would it have made in your educational experience?

4. Did any institution demand too much of your time and interest, as you now survey your social development? What modification would have been desirable?

5. Was there any activity to which you might have desirably given more attention if circumstances had permitted? How might this have been effected?

6. Did you ever have any opportunity to participate in making the complete program of your life? or did you have the experience of making adjustments to imposed programs, endeavoring always to get more time for your own interests?

7. What does your own experience suggest as to the desirability or undesirability of the scheme outlined in this chapter?

8. What practical plan would you put into operation for your own children in the light of your experience in this matter?

9. If you were the principal of the elementary school or of the high school, what would you do about a unified program on the basis of your own experience?

10. If you were the minister of a church, what would you do in this matter?

11. What practical beginnings can be made in your community?

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION THROUGH MORAL CRISES

DISCIPLINE AND THE CURRICULUM

We have seen that the curriculum of religious education is a program of activities by which growing persons will be practiced in furthering the divine-human enterprise of righteousness. They will actively engage in the enterprise in a simple form; they will learn how it has been carried on and is being carried on; they will come to an understanding of its character and principle. That is, we are thinking of curriculum on its positive side as stimulus to good habits and good conduct. To be sure, we inevitably include a consideration of bad conduct. Any study of human life in story, in history, in literature, or in observation reveals the opposing forces. The curriculum includes such studies as a kind of prophylactic. Moreover, in ethical analyses of life-situations judgment is passed upon all types of conduct with a definite recognition of what is bad.

But what happens when the curriculum is interrupted by bad conduct on the part of the young people themselves? The educational procedure necessary when the child has done wrong, or has failed to do right, has usually been called discipline. Such failure or dereliction has generally been regarded as an interference with the curriculum procedure. Family life and progress must stop while the naughty child is dealt with. School or church activity is suspended while the case of discipline is disposed of.

Wrongdoing is naturally an annoyance to parents and teachers. The parent wants the family life to go on smoothly, the teacher wants the *work* to be done, the church wants order to be preserved for its religious practices; wrongdoing interferes with all of these. So keenly is this felt that the offender is often vigorously dealt with or summarily eliminated, in order that there may be as little interruption as possible of the adult program. Yet, if we could but have patience to recognize it, these offenders are offering us the laboratory material which we need for our curriculum; they are providing the life-situations which we are at such pains to invent; they are presenting in concrete form the very problems with which we want to deal.

It will be a strange ethical paradox to affirm that we should welcome these interruptions in our orderly procedure as vital opportunities for ethical discrimination. Yet, if the statement is properly understood, it is correct. We are seeking to help the immature to deliberate and to choose between the good and bad; but how shall these abstractions become real? We do our best by presenting imaginary situations, hypothetical cases; but how valuable it would be if we could have a real case. As the medical lecturer wants to bring his students face to face with the patient suffering from the disease which he is describing, so the religious educator needs to show his pupils what wrongdoing means in actual life. Why then should he not accept the case when it is presented to him by the wrongdoing in his own group? Just what he is seeking to teach suddenly appears. The habitual social process is brought to a stop by some bad conduct. The question of right and wrong thus emerges in the actual process of liv-

ing. This moral crisis is the educator's opportunity. Indeed, without such occurrences religious education, either by parent or by teacher, would be very difficult, for moral analyses and discernment would lack point and vitality. The skilful use of such situations affords the best and most natural method of ethical instruction. By means of them, not only the offender, but the whole group, may move forward in moral insight and purpose. Sin has always been the opportunity of salvation. It is psychologically true that where sin abounds grace may much more abound.

The educational treatment of the moral crisis thus becomes part of the curriculum. The straightening out of some wrong or failure may be the most valuable project which the group can undertake. Of course this implies an adjustable curriculum, for bad conduct cannot be scheduled in advance; but this is no drawback, for we are coming to see that education must be able to adjust itself, and must never be hampered by its own program.

In our new curriculum there will doubtless be a considerable range of case studies, in which undesirable conduct is analyzed and where socialized methods of dealing with it are considered. When such conduct occurs in the life of the young people, the previous discussion will be available to aid in the adjustment.

In practice, moral educators, whether parents or teachers, have always taken advantage of the moral crises as a special educational opportunity. Most of us can remember some high points of experience where a wise father, mother, teacher, or friend helped us to find our way out of some difficulty into which we had fallen. We are here simply endeavoring to see the principles involved in such

wise procedure and to suggest the possibility of further application of such principles and of the systematization of education with reference to them.

THE CONFESSIONAL

It is in point to note that one of the most significant techniques in the range of religious education is based entirely upon the use of the moral-crisis situation; namely, auricular confession. The theory of the confessional is that the subject shall have an opportunity to review his conduct with reference to a discovery of its essential quality. The skilled confessor will help him to bring all the circumstances to mind, to analyze his own motives, and to see the social consequences of his act. He will then point out to him how reparation may be made, if such is possible; what spiritual exercises he shall practice to make his repentance real to him; and, with the priestly absolution, will restore him to his sense of fellowship with God and man.

It is unnecessary here to point out the abuses to which the confessional is subject, particularly the danger of its becoming a matter of routine. It is more important to recognize the naturalness of the confessional experience in the religious education of children. They constantly need the help which frank conversation with a trusted older friend can afford. Fathers and mothers, leaders of boy and girl groups, day-school and church-school teachers, as well as ministers, ought to be very accessible for such intimate conversation about moral problems, in order that bad practices may be checked before they become habits and that bad habits may be corrected before they have become too firmly set.

George Eliot in *Adam Bede* has pointed out the anxiety of Arthur to talk over his moral problem with the vicar. The gentlemanly scruples of the clergyman, lest he should seem to be inquisitive, prevented his giving to the young fellow the opportunity of confession which might have averted the tragedy that destroyed two lives. It is just such personal sins as caused the downfall of poor Hetty and Arthur that may be wisely discussed with a trusted friend. Public confession is neither necessary nor desirable. Evil social consequences may often be avoided by rectification of wrong before it becomes known. Doubtless, care should be taken that the real social consequences of bad conduct, even the most secret, should be recognized, for no error is more dangerous than that sin is an individual matter between the soul and God. A little analysis will indicate at once that all wrongdoing is antisocial, even if it be only that we thereby unfit ourselves for our best contribution to the social enterprise.

Yet valuable as is private confession (or perhaps a better term would be "conference"), it can never take the place of the study and rectification by the group of the wrongdoing which occurs among its own members. There is no reason why there should be any question of preference between these two educational methods. Both are necessary, and each should be used as occasion demands. Indeed, they mutually reinforce each other. Often the private conference leads to some public confession of wrong and to a consideration by the educational group of the proper means to be employed to meet the problem. On the other hand, the disciplinary processes of the group often open the way for intimate personal conversation, in which difficulties may be frankly discussed, information

may be imparted, and the basis laid for the wholesome activities, which will take the place of the bad practices that have caused the moral crisis. Whether, then, the procedure be private or in the group, the skilful use of situations of wrongdoing afford one of the best and most natural methods of ethical instruction. We need a keener appreciation of this educational opportunity and a more definite plan to take advantage of it when the occasion may arise.

THE METHOD OF JESUS

This was chiefly, if not altogether, the method employed by Jesus. He was not a systematic teacher. To be sure, Matthew has gathered his sayings into a beautiful unity in the Sermon on the Mount and in other discourses; but the teachings of Jesus seem generally to have been occasional; and it is quite likely that much of the material systematized by Matthew was spoken as occasion offered. One day Jesus heard whispers among his followers with repeated angry claims. He discovered that they were disputing about their rank. Here was a moral crisis which opened the way for him to teach them about true greatness. In the Fourth Gospel is the story of a similar controversy at the Last Supper which became so keen that no one would assume the duty of washing the feet of his superiors. Here was a moral crisis. Jesus met it with marvelous skill by taking the towel himself and washing the feet of those who would gladly have declined the service. The burning shame that filled these men gave the lesson of humility which no mere exhortation could have afforded. When Peter, troubled about the teaching of forgiveness, asked how many times he must forgive his brother, Jesus seized the opportunity to tell the parable

of ingratitude. When the scribes objected to his familiarity with the publicans and sinners, he took the opportunity to tell the wonderful stories of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Lost Son.

Jesus may almost be said to have made his "curriculum" out of the spiritual problems that emerged as he went along. It is easier for us to concentrate our moral instruction at times when the parents can give talks to their children, to the appointed periods when sermons are preached, and to the "moral elements in the school curriculum." But the most important opportunities come at the inconvenient times, often interfering with the program; so the question recurs, shall we stick to the program or educate the children?

THE EXPERIENCE OF WRONGDOING

If we are to use the "bad conduct" of youth as a means of religious education, it is important to consider what this badness means in their own experience, for the conduct may be very different to them from what it seems to us. We are concerned with the ongoing social life in which we want them to be intelligent co-operators, doing the things that will help, and refraining from the things that will hinder. But sometimes they fail to do what we hope they will do, and sometimes they commit acts which we regard as definitely undesirable. What is the explanation of their failure and dereliction?

The young person is living his habitual and impulsive life without very frequent consideration of principles of conduct. He is more or less conscious of the expectations of the groups to which he belongs—the manners and requirements of the family; the practices and regulations

of the school, week-day and Sunday; the rules of the games; and "what the fellows want you to do." Normally he meets these expectations, doing what is expected, and refraining from what is disapproved; but sometimes he fails. We say "sometimes," because, except in the case of extraordinarily neglected or antagonistic children, the number of instances of adherence to the group expectations is vastly greater than the number of violations. The former are taken for granted, while the latter attract attention and hence often appear to bulk larger in the totality of conduct than they actually do. This does not mitigate the seriousness of wrongdoing, but only singles it out as unusual conduct which requires special educational consideration.

What then is the cause of moral failure? There are probably three general types which ought to be distinguished: the ignorant, the careless, and the wilful. And there are two additional types, which may be called the representative and the rationalized.[1] The first type of

[1] Inasmuch as the question of the ethical value of the Bible is so much under discussion, it may not be out of place to note how that moral classic illustrates these five types of failure. The dramatic story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is clearly written for the Hebrews of the eighth century, to indicate that Jehovah does not desire such a terrible gift but is well satisfied with an animal offering. But Abraham is not rebuked for wrongdoing; he is simply shown a better way. His was the sin of ignorance. The story of Esau selling his birthright to Jacob is told, not, as we piously explain, to show how tricky the wily Jacob was (the writer seems rather to have enjoyed his cleverness), but to point out the evil of impulsive conduct by one who was so much a slave to appetite that he would not trouble to look into the consequences of his act: "Esau despised his birthright." When Amnon carried away by passion would wrong Tamar, she protests "No such thing ought to be done in Israel." Amnon knows that his people will condemn him, but he refuses to give consideration to this

failure means that the immature person has responded impulsively to an adequate stimulus without any realization that his conduct violates expectations. Perhaps we have not made clear to him the social significance of such an act; or the situation is a new one, and he is not able to carry over experience gained in what seems to us an analogous situation; or experience that we thought he had gained was not definite enough, or not often enough repeated, and it has simply disappeared. If accused of wrongdoing, he will respond with perfect truth, "I did not know."

A second type of moral failure occurs when the immature person reacts to some strong stimulus or is carried along by some absorbing interest so that, in the one case, the considerations which might restrain him from the undesirable conduct, or, in the other case, the considerations that should impel him to the desirable conduct, do not have a chance to come into consciousness; they are simply crowded out. He can only see what attracts him, and does not stop to think of consequences. If accused of wrongdoing, he will respond, "I did not think." In the third type of failure the recognition of dereliction is present, but it is held in the margin of consciousness; the social consequences of the conduct are not allowed to come to the center of attention. The wrongdoer knows that if he gave sufficient deliberation to his acts, considerations would arise that would restrain him from doing what he

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aspect of the case and pursues his evil will. Aaron making the golden calf for the people is the representative type—he who does wrong to help others. And the rationalization of evil is found in the Garden of Eden.

wants to do or would impel him to do what he does not desire. He therefore concentrates his attention on the aspects of the case that interest him, thus withdrawing them from the results. There may even be a certain spirit of defiance as these considerations are thrust aside. If he speaks the truth when accused, he will say, "I did not care."

THREE TYPES OF DISCIPLINE

There are three possible ways of dealing with each of these types of moral failure. One is to pay no attention, leaving the matter to take care of itself; a second, is to respond with annoyance or angry punishment; the third, is to seek to utilize the educational opportunity created by the moral crisis. What does each of these mean in the youthful experience?

If an act is committed in ignorance of social expectations and social consequences, there is clearly no culpability attached to it. The legal dictum *ignorantia legis non excusat* is not a complete ethical statement. The social necessity of compliance with law requires the insistence upon knowledge of the law. It is assumed that such knowledge is accessible and that failure to secure the proper information is culpable. Where ignorance is inevitable, the dictum is of course unjust. This is very often the case with children. However, apart from the question of culpability, undesirable conduct may afford educational opportunity. The social consequences of the act may be made clear in order that the child may see that such conduct is to be avoided in the future. This may be done in such a way that he does not feel that he is being condemned.

Suppose a child of very limited experience, accom-

panying his mother to the grocery store, should take an apple from a basket and, with no attempt at concealment, proceed to eat it. The act might be disregarded on the ground that the child is not old enough to understand what he is doing, and the mother might meet the needs of the case by reimbursing the grocer. But that is just the kind of conduct that becomes habitual, with very unfortunate subsequent results. Perhaps the mother, mortified and annoyed, may slap the child and call him a thief. The reaction of anger at the injustice is immediate. Sometimes the memory of such treatment rankles for years, sorely interfering with any moral influence by the person who has been guilty of the hasty punishment. So far from producing any real understanding of the social nature of the forbidden act, there may easily be developed the habit of concealment. If you want to take apples, you must not let anybody see you. A little success in such concealment soon becomes quite interesting, and cleverness in such acts of depredation will soon produce a real thief. The educational procedure is to recognize that ignorance is an opportunity for instruction. The mother might say very distinctly, "My little boy wants to eat an apple; let me pay for it." Quietly when they get home she will explain that everything taken from a store must be paid for and that it would be well in future for him to secure permission in advance. Such a natural treatment would not really bring this little episode into the rank of moral crises, as indeed it should not. The same principle, however, will apply to more serious cases of failure through ignorance.

The great range of wrongdoing belongs in the second class—heedlessness, carelessness, failure to deliberate;

the thing is done almost before its true nature is realized. The stimulus of the situation is sufficient to set off the action and to inhibit other action, although the youth is competent to see the social consequences if he gave himself the opportunity. Of course what we want is that he shall give himself the opportunity. We want to save him from impulsive action and to help him to develop habits of consideration. Let us see how the three methods of our response operate in his experience.

A boy rushes out of the muddy streets into the house without wiping his shoes; he leaves the door open, although a cold wind is blowing; he calls out to his mother, who happens to be entertaining a friend, to get him some sandwiches right away because he is going off on a hike with the Scouts. He has previously been told not to bring in mud on the carpets, always to close the door, and to find out what his mother is doing before interrupting her; but his mind is set on the hike and nothing else has any chance to secure his attention. What shall the mother do? She may ignore the conduct, in which case it is likely to be repeated and a rude, careless boy may be the result. She may scold him and refuse to let him have any lunch, in which case he will feel that these adults are always antagonistic and never have any consideration for a fellow, for he feels that he has the satisfactory excuse that he did not think, because he was in a hurry; he did not do it on purpose. Anything that seems like the reaction of anger or revenge will produce these results. On the other hand, an educational procedure is possible. It is a moral crisis, if not a very serious one; for the habitual family manners upon which the comfort of the home depend have been violated. Perhaps if the other boys are

waiting, it will be well good-naturedly to get him the lunch and speed him off. The mud might be left on the carpets for later inspection, when there would be opportunity to examine the conduct, note its real effects, secure from the lad a reaction of sorrow and resolve, and allow him to clean up the carpets. It may result in such an insight as will make the boy better mannered and more capable of deliberate action.

Positive wrongdoing is more serious. Impulses are strong in all of us. Young people want things, and want them hard. Oftentimes desire leads them in directions that they know are disapproved and of which they themselves are ashamed; but they want to go, and that is the end of it. A child wants money and takes it out of his mother's purse. A girl wants to go to the forbidden dance hall with her boy friend, and she goes. A student wants to pass the examination, and he cheats. These are the crises that call for the wisest educational procedure. To ignore them is to leave prominent in the youthful experience the immediately satisfying results of the unsocial conduct, so that the evil quality of it is obscured. Moreover, it promotes a contempt for the elders, who are evidently either careless of their own codes or too stupid to know that they are being violated. Pronounced disapproval and opposition, and particularly arbitrary punishment, may lead to resentment, even to a sense of injustice (when we know we have done wrong, we eagerly seize upon any opportunity to feel unjustly treated) and to a future concealment rather than a relinquishment of the practice. The educational treatment of this type of failure will not lose sight of the fact that in all bad conduct there are elements of ignorance and of heedlessness. The wrongdoer seldom

feels that he has wilfully violated the moral standards. In the foregoing examples the child did not want to steal, he wanted the money; the girl did not want to offend anybody, she wanted the fun; the student did not want to break college rules, he wanted to pass. This may be specious reasoning, but we are all guilty of it, and it mitigates very seriously the sense of guilt. Any procedure that assumes that the wrongdoer is a conscious culprit is likely to miss its effect. The old evangelistic technique was right in this respect, that it was designed to secure conviction of sin before there could be salvation. Another element very often present in wrongdoing is the sense that it was only a single act and should not be treated as if it represented habitual conduct. Why should these tiresome adults make so much fuss over a single act, even if it were wrong? We think we are not going to do it again, and we wish to let bygones be bygones. There can be no educational values developed out of moral crises unless definite account be taken of these elements of the offender's experience.

THE EXPERIENCE OF PUNISHMENT

Punishment has had so large a place in discipline that it requires careful examination. The educational consideration of the matter is complicated by the problem of crime which is giving us so much concern at the present time. The theory of legal punishment is that the fear of its infliction will deter the possible law-breaker from his crime. It probably does have some effect, and doubtless our cumbrous and obsolete system of criminal procedure, which almost promises immunity to the clever rascal, brings law into contempt and encourages evildoing. Pun-

ishment must at least be swift and sure. But we cannot forget that crime has been most general where punishment was most savage. It has been pointed out that pickpockets were busy in the crowds that were watching the hanging of one of their own number. But whatever place punishment may have as a social safeguard, where the concern is for the safety of society it must have an entirely different character when we are concerned with the moral education of the wrongdoer and of the group in which he belongs and in which the evil has been committed. Perhaps this distinction is not ultimately important, and if we ever develop a thoroughgoing system of moral and religious education we shall be altogether concerned with the moral salvation of the offender, while the security of society will be a by-product.

Punishment is of no value when it seems to be arbitrary. "To make the punishment fit the crime" is nonsense, for two such incommensurables cannot fit. Wrongdoing is a break in social fellowship. If, then, the punishment intensifies that break, producing resentment, it can have no remedial quality. The wrongdoer generally feels that he has been treated unjustly—of course he saves his own self-respect if he can so feel. It seems as if the strong are trying to defend certain rights which they compel the weak to respect. The natural reaction of the weak in such a situation is to commit the forbidden acts so cleverly, and to cover their tracks so carefully, that they will not be found out. The whole matter passes out of the realm of morals into that of the game where the hunted relies upon his skill to avoid the hunter. Then there develops among the weak the protective ethics of not "snitching" or "squealing." The informer is the real culprit, to be

punished by every means in the power of those betrayed. Leopold, the youth condemned for murder, refused to testify against the jail-breakers on the ground that it was "contrary to prison ethics."

Punishment becomes a kind of price that is to be paid for desired indulgence. Not only the criminal calculates whether the swag is worth the chance of so much punishment, but the child threatened with penalties considers whether the fun is worth the licking. Having taken the punishment he feels that he has squared the account, as discharged criminals speak of having paid their debt to society. Of course moral debts are not paid in that way.

FEAR IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

We do not forget that fear has been a powerful motive in religious education. We would like to believe that it was a former generation that sought to frighten children by the image of an angry God ready to consign them to the flames of hell, but unhappily this hideous doctrine is still believed and employed by some who are in charge of the religious education of young people. One of the leading evangelists of today has said that it is the only motive that can be relied upon for results. But God is not a great policeman and executioner; he is the great companion, leading us in the paths of righteousness. A religion that tries to use God to frighten people into salvation belongs with the penal code, not with the educational program.

That there are terrible effects—physical, mental, and social—that follow wrongdoing, must be part of the religious education of the young as their progressive experience gives them understanding. There must enter into

the concept of God the patent fact that we are in a world where roots produce fruits. But this is not punishment; it is consequence. The effect is congruous with the cause. There is an inevitableness about it that casts back its judgment upon the conduct that produced it. The child who is sick because of overindulgence in rich food does not regard himself as arbitrarily punished. He knows that he has done the foolish thing which produces these ill results. He gets a lesson in the working of his own physical organization. Moreover, if the incident is educationally treated, the resulting attitude will not be a development of fear. He will not avoid gluttony because of the dread of the consequent pain; he will recognize the propriety of temperance.

Fear, at least in its cruder sense, probably has no place in educational procedure. One learns the results of evil in story, history, and literature, as well as in the experience of life about him. If he simply fears these results, he may be again like the criminal who tries to escape capture. Only as one experiences the undesirability of the evil conduct itself because its character is revealed in the evil consequences, is he truly moral. But this is not fear; it is insight.

SOCIALIZED DISCIPLINE

The educational treatment of wrongdoing depends upon the social conception of well-doing. If we conceive ourselves as engaged in a common enterprise of righteousness, wrongdoing is anything that fails to promote that enterprise or that positively hinders it. Unless the educational group realizes this, there can be no satisfactory procedure developed. The offender spoils the group en-

terprise. The simplest treatment will be to cast him out and let the group go on with its task. But the group would thereby lose one of its members, and to that extent would be crippled; moreover, it would have failed to carry on such a co-operative life as would have included him. If we think of the family group, we see at once how tragic this would be; but only less so would be any other broken group. The common life is the chief object of our striving; how pitiful when we have to preserve that common life by mutilating it! The expulsion of the offender therefore, while the simplest method of treatment, should be the last, to be employed only when everything else has failed.

Two instances of the actual process of using moral crises in education may serve to bring out the positive principles involved. A young woman, teaching a class of boys in a mission school, was informed one Sunday that four members of her class had pulled up the young cabbages growing in a neighbor's yard. The owner was a poor widow endeavoring to bring up a family of small children. She was, however, sour of look and bitter of tongue and was generally disliked by the boys. The teacher recognized that the four culprits were the rough boys who had been recently added by the zeal of the other members. Without referring to the lesson of the day she started at once to tell the class Nathan's parable of the ewe lamb. She then drew a picture of the poor widow with her little garden—all that she had—which had been ruthlessly destroyed. She told the class that they were disgraced by the outrage that had been committed. The boys who had not been in the depredation were indignant and insisted that the offenders should be expelled. The teacher, pro-

testing that this would not be fair, asked what else could be done. The ringleader of the four, seeing now the true character of his act and feeling the social disapproval of the group, stated that they would pay back to the woman the value of the cabbages destroyed. The class immediately accepted the offer as just. The boys, being entirely without funds, were obliged to earn the money at odd jobs; and it was six months before the amount was complete. Every Sunday the other boys opened the class by inquiring the amount that had been earned during the week. The production of the pennies, nickels, and dimes was greeted with marked approval, while the slowly swelling sum developed the self-respect of the offenders.

This young and inexperienced teacher hit on some very sound procedure. She recognized at once that the moral crisis took precedence over anything else in the school program. She approached the matter with an appeal to sympathy and moral insight. Perhaps Nathan's parable was not strictly applicable, but the teacher's use of it illustrates a thoroughly sound use of the Bible or of other literature. As we mentally dramatize a literary situation, we are able to pass judgment upon human action, freed from complication of personal interests and motives. When we see the parallel in our own conduct, there comes to ourselves the moral condemnation "thou art the man." Note again that the teacher pointed out the true nature of sin as involving the whole group. The wrongdoer often justifies himself by insisting that he will accept the consequences. He cannot take all the consequences. Nothing is more important in moral education than this recognition that we involve others in our acts. The class responded to this in the natural way in which society so of-

ten reacts to wrongdoing—the elimination of offenders in order to keep the group pure. To turn out the boys would have been the simplest solution, but it would have been no real solution. The class, smaller in numbers, would have been conscious of having failed to socialize these young ruffians. The boys who remained would have developed a sense of moral superiority and antagonism to the others. The expelled members would have been under obligation to justify themselves as the tough gang, and might have seriously degenerated. The teacher knew that the solution must be found within the group. It came with the recognition of the social nature of the wrongdoing and with a self-inflicted punishment. Those youngsters sentenced themselves to six months' hard labor, but it was not a bitter, useless, penal servitude, it was the honorable way of reparation. They earned the approval of their fellows in the process. The class fellowship was not only restored, but strengthened; and a moral clarification came out of the crisis in which the whole class shared.

The second instance illustrates another educational principle. Some boys from a daily vacation bible school climbed into a neighbor's yard and stole her cherries. The teacher, having learned the facts from the neighbor, said to her class:

> I must tell you boys and girls that I am in a very embarrassing position. Miss Greene, who lives next door, was very much interested when she knew that we were to have a vacation school and said that she was sure we would be good neighbors. Now it seems that we have broken into her yard and taken her cherries. I do not know what I am to say to her.

The culprits immediately insisted that they would go to the neighbor, take the blame upon themselves, and prom-

ise that there should be no more trespassing upon her property.

Note that the teacher did not say that some members of the class had committed the depredation, but included herself and all in the "we" who were the bad neighbors. Sin is a communal act. The fact is deeper than that the wrongdoers have besmirched the good name of the group: they have made the group itself culpable. The group must recognize the fact, not merely with anger against the offenders, but with a sense of insufficiency that they have not been able to make their group life good enough, their fellowship real enough, so that such a thing could not occur. There is an elemental sense of justice which singles out the individual offender and puts the blame and punishment upon him, leaving the rest of the group secure in their own righteousness. But this is not the deepest social experience. In our religion the great souls never separated themselves from their people. Moses would die for his erring countrymen; Daniel confessed the sins of the nation as his own; the Servant of Jehovah "bare our sins and carried our sorrows." Our family, our school, our church, our country, our humanity, are social units achieving common righteousness and guilty of common wrong. If this is a profound social experience born of great sympathy, it is also a very simple experience in concrete situations. The children in the case cited above accepted the teacher's view. They knew that their class had become a bad neighbor. They were happy that their school should be restored to the good favor of the neighbor by the frank attitude of the boys who had offended. This sense of community responsibility is of the highest value. It gives moral insight which saves the wrongdoers from

becoming outcasts, appealing to them powerfully to stand by the group which has not forsaken them. And it preserves the right-doers from priggish satisfaction, developing in them sympathetic understanding of their erring comrades, earnest desire for the restoration of these to good status, and appreciation of their frank confession and their efforts at reparation.

A very objectionable use of the sense of group solidarity occurs when a teacher lays the whole group under punishment until the unknown offender confesses or is given up. This unites the group against the government. It produces anger against the individual whose refusal to confess involves his comrades in punishment. When the delinquent is finally discovered, the young people only feel that the teacher has got his pound of flesh.

The writer is indebted to Professor Rugh, whose essay on *The Essential Place of Religion in Education* admirably sets forth the principles which we are here discussing, for the statement of a technique which he has used with delinquents. He brings into a case of discipline several boys who are friends of the offender and asks them if they are willing to indorse him. They are thenceforward responsible for keeping him in the required ways of the school life. Their sense of responsibility, and the offender's loyalty to those who have gone on his bond, give a high social quality to this corporate endeavor for righteousness.[1]

THE REPRESENTATIVE AND THE RATIONALIZED TYPES

There is a type of wrongdoing which is committed, not for personal advantage, but to help another or to

[1] For other methods of socialized discipline, see Reavis, *Pupil Adjustment*, and Richmond, *The Delinquent Girl*.

further the interests of a group. There is a certain sense of virtue in taking the risk for the benefit of others. A student who will not cheat for himself will help a lame comrade. A person will tell a lie to protect his friend. A player will do an underhand trick "for the honor of the school." This conduct often passes into the rationalized type, where there is a refusal to recognize the conventional standards. The wrongdoer protects himself by denying that his act is wrong. This may represent a genuine difference of opinion, and the challenger may be quite justified. Indeed, shifts of standard come about in just this way. The denial of the wrong character of the act may be genuine, although from our wider experience there can be no doubt of its undesirability. Often the rationalization is more or less disingenuous. The wrongdoing is defended in order to save one's self from the feeling of culpability and to mitigate the condemnation of the elders.

These conditions call for the most careful ethical studies. We cannot force our standards upon young people. We do not want mere obedience. We want them to gain experience in the analysis of social situations and to determine their conduct with reference to its social consequences.

The religious treatment of such problems is of great value. Worship is efficacious in the purification of motive and the development of insight. It cannot take the place of earnest discussion, but it can give tone and purpose to the discussion.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Endeavor to discover some case where discipline has occurred in school or church, and analyze the character of the procedure. If possible, talk with the offender and estimate what has happened in his experience.

2. Ask a school teacher or principal to give you an instance of a moral crisis that was educationally met. Psychologize the procedure.

3. Make a similar study of a Sunday-school case.

4. How far does the student self-government or honor commission in your college deal with moral crises in an educational manner? How far is it merely penal? Estimate the difference in the experience of the students.

5. Study the methods of the juvenile court and consider in what respects its practice is satisfactorily educational.

6. Interview a Roman Catholic priest and ask him how he uses the confessional as a technique of religious education.

7. Consult an experienced Protestant minister, or Jewish rabbi, and ask him what value he has found in private conference with young people in cases of moral dereliction.

8. Estimate the ethical significance of fear of punishment and fear of consequences as deterrents of wrongdoing.

9. Study a Boy Scout group, or a similar girl group, with reference to the way in which educational procedure is employed in moral crises.

10. Consult some wise father or mother and ask for an instance in which wrongdoing was so dealt with as to result in some social value in the family. Psychologize the procedure.

SUGGESTIONS FOR AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Recall some early instances of your own wrongdoing at home and analyze the procedure of your parents. Can you see any way in which it might have been more satisfactory?

2. Make a similar study of some early wrongdoing at school.

3. Recall some cases in which you were punished. Did you feel that it was just? Did you have any resentment? What did the punishment mean in your experience? Did it deter you from repeating the disapproved acts?

4. On the basis of your own experience of punishment, how far would you use it as a teacher or as a parent?

5. Recall a number of instances of wrongdoing at various stages of your life and consider whether the three types indicated in this chapter account for them. Were there any of a different character?

6. Were you ever condemned for an act which you had not known was wrong? Estimate carefully what this meant in your experience.

7. Were you ever condemned for heedless conduct when you had not intended to do wrong? Estimate what this meant in your experience?

8. What place did fear have in your moral and religious education? How far would you employ it with children and youth?

9. Do you recall any instances of socialized discipline when you were the wrongdoer? Estimate the significance of the experience.

10. Do you recall any instances of socialized discipline when you were a member of the group in which it occurred? Estimate the significance of the experience to yourself, to the offender, and to the group.

CHAPTER XI

THE REVALUATION OF PREJUDICE

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PREJUDICE

We have discussed in chapter ii the psychology of the development of group prejudices. Even in civilized society, and even among scientifically trained people, it is impossible to give to little children the judgment processes by which the elders have determined their own attitudes and practices. They can present to the children only the results. The social values which the children experience are pre-judgments; they are anterior to judgment and independent of the discrimination process.

We have noted the significance of these predispositions. Our loyalties and antipathies, our appreciations and contempts, our sense of what is right and what is wrong—all, good, bad, and indifferent, come to us from the group by the same inevitable process. This is at once a conserving and a stultifying force in human society. By this means, the good that has been gained is handed on, but equally the undesirable attitudes are handed on; moreover, change and progress are rendered very difficult.

That there are great educational possibilities in this process of prejudice is perfectly clear. The socialized group can establish its children in fundamentally desirable attitudes from which the antisocial influences of later years will find it difficult to dislodge them. It is an economical educational process, for it goes on inevitably in the simple sharing of life. It is continuous, cumulative, and eminently satisfying.

Ideally, the socialized group would mediate to its children only those loyalties, attitudes, and ideas which later judgment would approve and reaffirm. The educational process would then be peculiarly satisfactory, as knowledge and discrimination would gradually add their value to what was first uncritically apprehended. As adult education develops, we shall be more and more able to save our children from the dislocation which arises when early views are challenged by the intelligence of later years.

PROBLEMS OF EARLY EDUCATION IN ATTITUDES AND LOYALTIES

It is, however, practically impossible to give to our children our discriminatory attitudes. For example, we wish them to be appreciative of people who belong in socially different strata from our own, but it is not always safe to allow them to associate with such people. Problems of cleanliness, manners, and social habits seriously complicate such companionship. Contempt for inferiors is easily developed; but kindly consideration and appreciation, coupled with limitation of intercourse, is exceedingly difficult.

We may belong to a church which, on the whole, we feel to be the most satisfactory or the most convenient, but we may strongly disapprove of some of its views or practices. Such adult attitudes of compromise are constantly necessary, but they are very difficult to make significant to children. Youthful loyalty is not easily discriminating. The church is either right or wrong. The early experience of churchmanship is hardly compatible with disapproval of certain aspects of the institution. A child brought up in a family where the failure of the min-

ister to "preach the gospel" was constantly discussed never achieved quite the loyalty to the institution which a more conforming family would have secured.

This is a very vital problem with respect to patriotism. The British premier, Mr. Baldwin, in addressing the Historical Society, frankly advocated the education of children in undiscriminating approval of their own country. He thought that, on the whole, if the young people grew up to feel that they belonged to the best country in the world, which had always been right and always victorious and whose leaders had always been noble and heroic, they would get the fundamental loyalty so necessary for national life. Later modifications of these views, as critical historical study might require, would take place without serious inconvenience. There can be no doubt that all nations have pursued this policy. The only villains in the national drama, in addition to foreign enemies, have been the rebels or the leaders of political parties to which the textbook-writer or the school committee were opposed. It would never do to let the children know the truth; they might discover that the national history had not always been the best.

Evidently a nice pedagogical discrimination is essential. We can give children only such facts as they are competent to interpret. To let them know that Washington stalked out of the Senate chamber, saying, "Damn the Senate," might not at all indicate that the upper house has from the beginning seriously hampered executive efficiency, but might simply shock them by profanity which they would be quite incompetent to assess.

Yet it is surely possible to distinguish between loyalty and bigotry. It will do children no harm to know that

mistakes have been made in the past. They should understand that the whole country was fundamentally responsible for slavery and that many of the noblest men in the South were conscious of its evils and anxious to find some way out of the entanglement. They might well recognize that "fifty-four forty or fight" was a bit of jingoism and that the great triumphs in the determination of our borders were achieved by fair conference and arbitration.

Judgment is not a faculty which appears at a certain time, like wisdom teeth; it is a method of thinking that can be developed in simple fashion from the earliest years. Dewey has told us that reflective thinking begins in childhood and that "adolescence is not another name for magic." We may therefore, side by side with the development of the pre-judgments of the young people, help them to such comparison and discrimination as shall progressively enable them to work out opinions of their own.

EDUCATION AND THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

We are committed to the scientific method to the fullest extent to which it can be applied. Nothing is to be accepted but as conclusion from the ascertained facts of observation. This is the very antithesis of prejudice. Every opinion held prior to judgment must be called in question and examined. Loyalties, as feelings of worth, are themselves facts and are not required to justify themselves; but as soon as loyalties become ideas, opinions, the scientific method demands that the feeling quality be withdrawn and that the ideas and opinions maintain themselves solely on the basis of evidence. Whenever the loyalties give rise to conduct, the scientific method requires

that such conduct be assessed according to the criteria of social value.

A youth may love the Republican party because his grandfather was in the convention that nominated Lincoln and because his folk have voted the Republican ticket ever since. He is entitled to this devotion which is a legitimate group loyalty. But if he holds an opinion on the reconstruction policy in the South, on the protective tariff, or on the League of Nations, the scientific method demands that he make himself acquainted with all available facts and evidence and reach his conclusions utterly uninfluenced by his feelings of loyalty.

The complete employment of the scientific method is possible only to the mature intelligence; indeed, it is the highest achievement of mental training. The writer recalls an eminent theologian who admitted that he had reluctantly reached a certain conclusion, his religious feelings having led him to hope that the opposite was true. As a skilled dialectician, it would have been easy for him to have maintained the opposite view, but he was obliged to think as the evidence led him and to adjust his feelings to the demands of the truth. A less disciplined mind would have found it impossible to resist the attractive opportunity of maintaining a desirable theory.

Education is progressive training in this discerning ability. Prejudices of speech are to be brought to the test of the most approved usage. Race attitudes are to be corrected by a study of the facts regarding other peoples. Historical pre-judgments are to be laid aside at the very entrance to the study of any experience of the past. The historical student undertakes to recover the past situation in which he is interested, to dramatize the conduct

of the persons engaged, to discover the social causes and effects as they operated, and to secure the meaning which emerges from his survey. Any previous opinion based on inadequate examination of the facts is as little entitled to consideration as a blind man's opinion of color.

Education undertakes to help the student to divest himself of preconceptions, to draw the line carefully between the mass of hazy opinions which have somehow taken possession of his mind and those clearly formed judgments which are the result of painstaking investigation. Everything, therefore, must be questioned. No realm of interest may be reserved from this process. The questioning attitude is not only permissible to the student, it is obligatory. He develops the habit of asking himself: Do I really know anything about this or have I taken opinions second hand? He is ever ready to reopen a case if further evidence is discovered.

We recognize this as the prime condition for intellectual progress and as the very joy of enlarging comprehension. If Einstein questions our most fundamental hypothesis, we are ready to listen to his argument. No intelligent man would dream of saying that the matter is settled and cannot be reconsidered. We know how little we know, and we glory in the prospect of knowing more. We know how often we have been mistaken and how radical have been the enlargements of knowledge. We are therefore utterly willing to have our most certain theories re-examined and our most confident conclusions brought in question.

The ultimate purpose of all education must be the development of self-reliant individuals, who dare to think for themselves, to examine every cherished conviction, to

analyze every morality, and then to act as they feel that their best contribution to the whole of life demands.

The group with its inherited prejudices never progresses. Individuals competent to criticize the group life are the philosophers, the reformers, the prophets, the liberators, the inventors. Every gain made in industry, in art, in education, in religion, came because some individual with insight saw farther than anyone before had seen.

But the pioneer cannot do very much alone. He must win the group. Cynics, mere critics of human achievement, intellectual aristocrats, do not lead the race onward. The real leader must share his discovery. This brings him back into the group life. He must convince his comrades. He must help to change the tradition into progress.

So the modernism of one age becomes the orthodoxy of the next. Again there is need to train the children of that next age to a re-examination of their heritage. Again they must be urged to independent research and judgment. So the group must encourage the development of individuality, and the advancing individual must give his best to the group.

SO-CALLED "ADOLESCENT DOUBT"

All this bears strongly on the problems of religious thought. In this realm we have a large traditional heritage. The religious institution has its practices, its rituals, its symbols, that have come down from the long past and that sometimes are little in keeping with the ways of modern life. The sacred literature is the product of a prescientific age, when myth, legend, and miracle were the natural expressions of human experience. Our theologies

were made when men thought in categories quite dissimilar from those of the modern world, and when the religious problems which confronted them, and which those theologies sought to solve, were utterly different from our own. Has not Dewey reminded us that we do not solve our philosophical problems, we outgrow them?

If we share our religion with our children, we inevitably give to them much of this traditional practice and lore and theory. We cannot help it, for it is in our prayers, our hymns, our sacraments, our art, and in our Bible. How shall we help them to the interpretation which has come to be satisfactory to us? Those of us who call ourselves "modernists" perhaps began with naïve acceptance of all this heritage as if it were fact—true as the multiplication table is true; as judgment developed and observation made us a little acquainted with the world as the scientific mind sees it, we discovered that much of this could not be fact; we may have gone through sore struggle between loyalty to the faith, devotion to the religious experience that had meant so much to us, and the clear evidence that we could not reject; happily we have come to see that myth, legend, miracle, symbol, are the natural language of religion—true as poetry is true; true as the sleep of winter and the awakening of spring are true; truer than superficial fact because suggestive of profounder fact, the reality of the spiritual life itself.

Religious education is concerned with simplifying this process through which we of the older generation struggled. We shall not speak very much of "adolescent doubt," which was the familiar problem to the earlier writers on this subject. Of course the adolescent doubts; he would not be adolescent if he did not, he would be

still a child. We teach him to doubt; like Socrates, we goad him into doubt. We demand of him that he tell us why he has such an opinion, holds such a theory, approves such a practice. We put him into the laboratory and the library and teach him the technique of asking questions and getting answers. When the eager student says that he would like to find out the proof of the theory that disease is propagated by insects, we do not call him a doubter but an investigator. When he wants to know whether the tariff increases wages, we do not solemnly shake our heads and consider how we are to meet this case of adolescent doubt; we show him how to consult government reports.

The most unfortunate treatment of young people's questions is the suggestion that there is anything wrong about them. Moody, notwithstanding his general sanity and common sense, made a serious mistake when he said to a company of college students, "Pull up a doubt and you will find a sin at the root of it." If we tell young people that God created the world, they have a perfect right to inquire how we know and what we mean. If we tell them that the Bible asserts it, they ought to inquire how the Bible got its information. If we tell them that the Bible is inspired, they only exhibit their intelligence when they ask what is meant by inspiration and how we know that it took place. If we tell them that miracles occurred in biblical times, they are justified in asking for the evidence. Such inquiries may be stigmatized as doubt, but they are only the sensible doubt which the scientific method demands.

The serious and devastating doubt is when the young people doubt our reliability as religious guides. When a

high-school student discovers that his parents and his pastor do not know what his textbook presents to him as the deliverance of science, *that* is serious indeed. And if he suspects that they do know, but they do not think it is good for him to know, the doubt of their sincerity is more serious still.

The educational process that is here called for is that of revaluation. The young people are constantly to bring up for consideration the simple, naïve meanings that have contented them; they are to re-examine them in the light of larger experience and to find such new interpretation as the investigation requires. The revaluation of Santa Claus is a familiar requirement. The revaluation of the Bible, so that it loses its magic quality and acquires the glory of vital human experience, is a happy outcome of good Bible study. The revaluation of miracles as the attestation of a simple age to the moral character of the hero is a satisfying achievement.

The revaluation process is not only essential but is generally advantageous. As we gradually discover that our own folk are just human but are still our own and very good to us, we have a better family loyalty, more natural, more real, and not less vital. As we find that our country is only one of the good countries of the world, with much to give but also much to learn, with a noble past of human struggle but full of errors and failures, we do not lose our patriotism; we highly resolve to be worthy of all that our forbears have achieved, to do our part in our day, and to endeavor not to make mistakes for which we would be less excusable. As we learn that our church is not the only institution of truth, and is not the one favorite of God, but is an earnest human attempt to de-

velop a fellowship with a rich experience of God and an earnest purpose of human good, we do not surrender our faith; we realize it more keenly and dedicate ourselves to make the institution more fruitful in religious power.

THE PEDAGOGY OF THE REVALUATION PROCESS

Great skill and tact are required on the part of parents, ministers, and teachers if this process is to be happy and satisfactory. It may begin very early. Dean Hodges suggested that the Bible stories should be told with the preface, "This is a story which the Hebrew mothers used to tell their children long ago." Thus the story is put at once into the realm of the imagination, where the child so naturally lives, and in which he does not demand fact. Whether children would insist on being given "true stories" if we had not made an unreal distinction between fact and fancy, it is difficult to say. But if an appreciation of the story is evident in the interest and moral feeling of the narrator, the spiritual value will be retained. Even if the child should ask if the story were true, and it were necessary to explain that we do not know about some of those far away happenings, but that it is very beautiful, showing how men believed that God would take care of them, the revaluation could effectively take place.

We certainly do not wish children to believe that God cared for people once but leaves them today without such providence. Rather we would have them think of the protecting care as always manifesting itself in the provision of nature and of human love but expressed in the old stories in the picturesque form of miracle.

The worst possible pedagogy is the rough handling of cherished conviction, cynical contempt for the worn-out

views of orthodoxy, and depreciation of the Bible or the creeds or the practices of any church. Revaluation is not produced in this way. When college students state that they are sorry that they have taken certain courses in religion because of the permanent loss to their faith, something is probably wrong with the teaching process. Likewise, when students are flippant regarding opinions which their studies have caused them to discard, it is probable that the teaching has not been wise and has not resulted in a revaluation experience.

The old doctrine of apperception ought to have a place in this pedagogical process. The teacher must take his students where he finds them, at the stage of faith, understanding, appreciation, which they have reached. He must be able to sympathize with the experience values which their present position involves. He is seeking not to destroy those values but to conserve them by the process of revaluation. It is quite easy to destroy them. No pedagogical skill is necessary to bring a class to the view that religion is an outgrowth of human bigotry and superstition, that its sacred books are the inventions of fanatics, that its creeds are the result of theological contention and animosity, and that its rituals are the survivals of pagan rites.

The process of revaluation is far different. It calls for sympathetic understanding of the very elements which it may be necessary to abandon. To say that the fourth century was torn asunder over an iota subscript is no more intelligent than to say that the Revolutionary War was fought over the price of tea. To deal contemptuously with the divinity of Christ is, to say the least of it, as clumsy as to sneer at the Declaration of Independence.

A teacher of a class in the life of Christ began by pointing out the unreliability of documents produced so long after the events. The effect upon the class was to cast doubt upon the value of Jesus. Another teacher with a class of thirteen-year-old boys began a similar study by getting them to see how it would be possible to write a life of Lincoln today that would be substantially accurate, even if we had to depend upon memory and oral tradition, with no contemporary written records. The boys saw that it would not be an infallible history, but they felt that it would have most significant experiential value. The reinterpretation of the gospels took place without any disturbance of faith or appreciation.

The same principle applies to the creeds of the church. Young children should be given only such theology as their interest demands. They will have some questions regarding God, creation, providence, which we should answer frankly, often taking refuge in that most valuable theological statement which will be of great service to them through life—that we do not know. The high-school student will want to know about the creeds; the college student should be encouraged to study them. It is easy to be contemptuous about these fine-spun discussions. The young people should be helped to understand the problems which the Fathers were trying to solve. Of course we should not make present use of the creeds except liturgically in song.[1] But we should undertake a re-

[1] Some churches regard the recital of the creed as one of the great acts of worship. They define it as having symbolic rather than logical meaning. In this case it would be far better to chant the creed, thus indicating its liturgical character. However, a minister has reported a service, prepared by his young people, in which, contrary to the custom of that church, they elected to use the Apostles' Creed which they said they did

valuation of them, as we in our turn endeavor to answer our deepest religious questions.

A difficulty arises regarding hymns which contain theological statements and suggestions which we do not accept. Some hymn books have been meticulously edited to remove trinitarianism, atonement, sacramentalism, papacy. The result is generally somewhat vapid. We shall be great losers if we abandon our precious heritage of song, The "Te Deum" and the "Canticles," the "Gloria Patri," the Latin hymns, much of the Reformation hymnody, Wesleyan song, the lyrics of the Tractarian movement—how much of this will survive severe intellectual scrutiny, demanding exact statement of modern thought?

It is often answered that we need not be disturbed by inconsistency between our intellectual convictions and the theology of our hymns as people do not notice very much the words which they sing. This is doubtless true, but is it satisfactory? Should we not sing with the spirit and with the understanding also? Does one not get far more out of a hymn whose sentiment he appreciates, whose imagery he sees, whose faith he affirms? It would be poor religious education indeed to encourage children not to notice the meaning of the words they sing.

The great body of hymnody which we employ ought to meet the canons of theological fitness and of intellectual sincerity. Those that seriously violate these canons should be dropped from use. Indeed, the sifting process has gone on all through Christian history. We need not, however, lose all the hymns which do not strictly meet

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not believe literally but which they felt had a "unifying effect upon the congregation" (*Congregationalist*, October 20, 1927, pp. 497 f.).

these canons. We may frankly keep the noblest of the lyrics of the older faith as our expression of community with our spiritual ancestors, whose deepest religious experiences we are glad to share. The process of evaluation is the recognition that the lyric expresses a mood and not a syllogism.

The worshiper will seek to enter into the experience of devotion of the singers, not into their intellectual interpretation of that devotion. The "Te Deum" is exultant praise and longing for the divine fellowship and for spiritual cleansing; its trinitarianism and soteriology are like the angels of Fra Angelico—forms of spiritual expression.

REVALUATION AND AUTHORITY

We have constantly endeavored in this treatise to state the principles of religious education in so general a manner as to apply at least to all phases of Christian and Jewish religion. Inevitably the fundamental democratic philosophy which underlies our discussion has led to statements of principles which would be fully accepted only by the more liberal Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews. But, as we have more than once insisted, religious education must after all be carried on within the particular religious group to which the child belongs. Authoritarian religion, particularly that of the Roman Catholic, cannot be democratic. By its theory, it must be able to teach truth and duty as revealed. To a large extent the same condition obtains in orthodox Protestantism and Judaism. Truth is believed to be given in unchangeable revelation and therefore is not to be sought by social experiment and criticism.

In these systems there is very little room for the re-

valuation process. The family and the church will hold alike the truth that is to be accepted and believed. The child will be taught from the beginning what he is to think and what he is to do. The Roman Catholic is so much concerned that there shall be no confusion in this development that he feels he must have control of the entire education of the child, in order that in connection with every subject and in every educational exercise there may be the same presentation of truth, each reinforcing all the rest. Criticism, experiment, and investigation are freely encouraged in every realm which does not involve religion. Typical is the attitude with regard to a critical estimate of the Genesis account of creation. The student is taught that science presents to us the evolution of the body, while revelation is concerned with teaching us the divine origin of the soul.

Thus the child of authority grows up without confusion, without the hard necessity of struggling to find the truth. As understanding develops, he is carefully made acquainted with the various divergent views held by heretical sects, but always with the accompanying antidote of orthodox apologetic. He is thus guarded against skepticism and preserved in the faith. A young Catholic student who took a biblical course in college explained that he had done so because he wanted to learn the facts about the biblical history; he was quite willing to follow the instructor as a historian but, regarding him as entirely ignorant of the true religion, he paid no attention when any religious views were presented: "I go to college for information, but I go to my church for religious truth." This is the *modus vivendi* which authoritarian religion has established with science, and it works very well.

The discussion in this chapter frankly parts company with authority. It is based completely upon the scientific view that all knowledge, all ethics, all truth, arise in the social process and are the result of social experience. We find God in the social process, in all our best insight, in all our highest striving, in all our great questioning after truth, and in all our passionate longing after goodness. Some of us believe that the God whom we thus find is Reality, not identical with ourselves, not simply the total result of our interactions, but very God, more than man, different from man, utterly beyond man, but whose self-revelation, so far as we may know it, is ever in the experience of man.

The large application of the principle here discussed to the realm of conduct may conveniently be considered in another chapter.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. It is sometimes possible to secure the co-operation of a class in English to obtain some theme material which may be indicative of the attitudes of the children. If a seventh-grade class would write brief essays on "Why I Am Patriotic," "Why I am Proud of My Race," "Why I am Loyal to My Church," some very interesting revelation of prejudice, in the psychological sense in which we have used the term, might be secured. Such material should be analyzed in order to discover evidence of the following: (*a*) the feeling quality of the attitude expressed, (*b*) the reproduction of opinion received from the groups to which the children belong, (*c*) any attempt at discrimination, (*d*) any antipathies or contempts, (*e*) any devotion expressing itself in distinct behavior, and (*f*) the social value of such behavior.

2. Make a careful study of the scientific method in some field in which you have done advanced work. Consider the following: (*a*) the estimate of theories held by noted scientists of the past, (*b*) the place given to authority, e.g., the Laplace theory in astronomy,

(*c*) the weight given to popular opinion, (*d*) the emotional attachment of a scientist for his theory, (*e*) the desire to find evidence in support of a particular theory, (*f*) the estimate of carefully ascertained data, (*g*) the character of experiment, (*h*) the attitude toward evidence.

3. Ask the principal of the elementary school in your community how far the scientific method as you have outlined it above, may be used by children in their studies. So far as this investigative process is not used, what is the method employed?

4. Ask the principal of the high school (*a*) how far the scientific method may be employed by his students, (*b*) how far the students are trained in the weighing of evidence and the testing of conclusions, (*c*) how the teachers deal with the opinions of their students, (*d*) how far the endeavor is made to develop the questioning attitude in the students.

5. Those who are holding conferences with college students find that the recurring questions which are presented to them include the following: (*a*) How do we know that there is a God? (*b*) What is the value of prayer? (*c*) Was Jesus more than a man? (*d*) Was he miraculously born? (*e*) Did he rise from the dead? (*f*) What evidence is there for the biblical miracles? (*g*) What grounds are there for the belief in immortality? (*h*) Why should we endeavor to make other peoples accept our religion?

Why do the students ask these questions? What previous training do the questions imply? Should the questionings be regarded as skeptical and therefore as evidence of declining religious faith? Is it probable that the students have been guilty of some wrongdoing which has weakened their faith and caused them to doubt?

If the religious experience of some of these students has seemed to be dependent upon accepting the traditional view of these matters, how could a revaluation process take place? Sketch the pedagogical technique that you would employ for such revaluation if you were conducting a student conference?

6. Select three Sunday-school textbooks issued by your denomination for juniors, intermediates, and seniors, respectively. Examine them carefully on the following points: (*a*) How far is there any recognition of the questions which the students may raise

as to the truth of the material studied? (*b*) How far is there any attempt to stimulate such questions? (*c*) What help is given for meeting the questions? (*d*) Is the scientific method employed in any of these books? (*e*) Is the scientific method graded to the advancing maturity of the students? (*f*) Is the revaluation process employed? Give a critical estimate of the pedagogy.

7. Select ten typical church hymns. What theological implications do they contain? How far do these accord with your own views? What is your experience in singing a hymn which contains theological implications discordant with your views? Do you find the revaluation process possible? Are you conscious of any insincerity?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Referring back to suggestions 5 and 7 in chapter ii, consider how far you have revaluated any of your prejudices.

2. Was your early education in patriotism similar to that advocated by Mr. Baldwin? Criticize his views on the basis of your experience.

3. Did your parents or teachers make any attempt to share with you their own discriminations with reference to any of the major objects of loyalty? If so, what was its significance in your experience? If they did not, what was the effect of the omission?

4. How far were you introduced to the scientific method (*a*) in childhood, (*b*) in high school, (*c*) in college? When did you fully understand its significance?

5. When did you first question any religious teaching in your own mind? Did you have any sense that this was an improper doubt?

6. When did you first seek help in your religious questionings? What response did you receive? Estimate the effect of the response in your religious development?

7. Did you ever have a feeling that your parents or religious leaders were ignorant of facts which might modify their religious views? What was the effect on your religious development?

8. Did you ever suspect that your parents or religious teachers held views that they were unwilling to reveal to you? What was the effect on your religious development?

9. Did you ever receive any shock from a teacher who was endeavoring to present modern religious ideas? Was this inevitable or was the teacher untactful? Can you now see how the process might have been more satisfactory?

10. What happy revaluation experiences have you had? Recall as many as possible and deduce from these the pedagogical principles which you would follow as a teacher of religion.

CHAPTER XII

DELIBERATIVE CONDUCT AND THE WILL OF GOD

THE SOCIAL CHALLENGE OF GROUP MORALITY

We have seen that the simplest moral conduct is that which is developed in the group. It has an inevitability because it is the behavior always, and by all persons, expected. Once the group mores are questioned, that type of morality is gone. The very essence of its validity is its unbroken practice. In our complex society there are four ways in which this challenge of the group morality may take place:

1. The group may not be completely unified in its own habits. Mary Antin[1] writes of the effect upon her sense of the inviolability of the Sabbath when she saw her elders surreptitiously carrying on some work which was forbidden to the children. Immediately the Sabbath rule became an imposition of authority instead of an inevitable requirement upon all. She determined to try the experiment of breaking the law herself. We are often disturbed by the recurrent "Why?" from children when they are told to do this or that. It will generally be found that conduct is being required of them which is not practiced by the elders. A little girl is said to have remarked, "I should think mamma would know more about children; why do we always have to go to bed when we are not sleepy and get up when we are sleepy?" But if the family

[1] *The Promised Land.*

is camping in the summer and everybody goes to bed soon after supper, and everybody gets up at sunrise to the merry call of the bugle or the shout of the father, group habit reasserts itself and there is no complaining "Why?"

2. The enlarged social experience of some members of the group may make them aware of the limited social experience of the other members. The validity of the group mores is then challenged on the basis of wider knowledge. Something like this has taken place with regard to popular amusements. A generation ago the church group in many places was definitely characterized by its opposition to certain forms of pleasure. To engage in forbidden amusements was to break with the religious group. Parental advice, frequent sermons, evangelistic appeals, Sunday-school literature—all emphasized the danger of these practices and pointed out the incompatibility of such indulgence with spiritual life. But the young people, leaving the home communities where such views were held, often found other church groups where the forbidden practices were regarded as entirely innocent. They found people, whom they were glad to accept as religious leaders, freely enjoying some of the tabooed pleasures. The major premise of the home group was discovered to be illicit, and with it went the moral authority of the group mores.

3. The developing sense of selfhood and the social approval of self-direction may challenge the acceptance of authority. Why should I conform to my group? Why should I do what other people have done? Who is to determine right and wrong for me? The whole tendency of our modern thinking is against external authority. We

have committed ourselves passionately to the idea of political democracy, and, however unwilling timid souls have been to carry the doctrine into other spheres of life, it has been working as a leaven in our society. Parental, educational, ecclesiastical, industrial autocracies are finding themselves increasingly embarrassed in the freedom of the modern world. There are, of course, self-limitations in freedom, but these are not so easy to recognize. Restraint irks us, and we are very glad to believe that we are entitled to liberty. So the cult of self-expression has developed: What is good except that which our nature prompts us to do? Thus desire becomes the arbiter of conduct.

A magazine writer has recently raised the question, "What shall we substitute for the sense of right and wrong?" The young people are very frankly saying that these terms have no meaning. The suggestion is made that beauty might be the substitute. We must act so that conduct will be beautiful, social living will be beautiful. The hatred of ugliness is thus to take the place of the hatred of sin.

4. A deliberate attempt may be made to set up social ideals and to examine current ethical practice in the light of these ideals. This is the most marked form of ethical progress. The prophets and their disciples have generally made such break with the group mores. Jesus sets up his standard of human welfare and declares that institutions must be appraised by that test, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." A most interesting employment of this process is going on today in the more serious aspects of the "youth movement."

It is evident that in these different types of challenge

of the group mores we have a wide divergence of ethical attitude, reaching all the way from passionate desire to attain the highest possible good to the deliberate determination to accept the least possible obligation. We have moral earnestness and impulsive self-indulgence taking the same ground. This is the difficulty inherent in freedom. The right to decide what is right involves the liberty to define what is right. At this point our most baffling and effective religious education must be carried on.

SOCIAL DISCOVERY OF THE WILL OF GOD

We must here frankly part company again with authoritarian ethics and authoritarian religion. A religious education resting on that basis will not follow our further discussion. With regard to the four processes of ethical challenge outlined above, it will simply say that rebellion against authority is itself fundamentally wrong and that the task of religious education is to bring the rebel back to obedience. There are well-developed techniques for securing the obedient attitude, which such education will employ. No good purpose would be served by presenting them, and to criticize them would be gratuitous.

Authority is a temporary educational expedient, as obedience is an immature ethical attitude. They are together the lowest stratum of morality. The earliest acts of the child are inevitably directed by the parent, but the first opportunity is taken to indicate the reason for any desired conduct. Very much child direction takes the form of play; and play is not obedience, but co-operative activity. Family decisions are preceded, as far as possible, by discussion in which all the children take part. School regulations are explained on the basis of reason-

ableness and social values. Effort is made to transform the authority of the teacher into the leadership of the more experienced adventurer in the ways of learning. Particularly, ethical requirements are recognized as binding upon elders as well as upon children. When some behavior which cannot be explained is required of the child, the parent will seek to make clear that there are some matters which the child cannot understand, appealing to him not so much to obey, as to believe in the parent's love sufficiently to accept guidance. That is, social education would deliberately seek to carry conduct out of the realm of obedience into that of willing acceptance of expert direction.[1] We are, of course, using obedience here, not in the sense of happy co-operation with educational leaders, but in the strict sense of unquestioning acceptance of the imposed will of another. It is particularly to be noted that, outside of a strictly authoritarian religion, there can be no such thing as this type of obedience to God. A course of conduct must appear to be right, according to our own best insight, before it can be accepted as the will of God. It is inconceivable that we should think that God was commanding us to do something which apart from his command we should not have regarded as duty or might even have considered wrong.

The concept of the will of God brings us to the very heart of the religious sanction of social conduct. It involves a sense of moral purposiveness, a conception of a socialized humanity as the goal to which the moral power of the universe is urging us forward. When we attempt to

[1] Soares, "The Opportunity of the Family in the Development of Democracy," *Religious Education*, June, 1924, pp. 163–70; Coe, *Law and Freedom in the School*.

consider what that may be, we are immediately impelled to think of the best social relations that are possible; we become aware of inequities which ought to be ended, of prejudices which ought to be dissolved, of amenities which ought to be achieved. We also become conscious of lack of knowledge upon these matters which must be remedied by exact study,[1] for the social goal must be something more clearly defined than we can express offhand. We are brought to the question of the method of the divine ongoing: How does God participate in the social process? If he is working through us, is there any way in which we can be more sensitive to his guidance? This develops the significance of the deepest religious experience—prayer, as the earnest desire to secure help in the achievement of right social relations. Thus the will of God for us (not as objective reality, but for us) is attained in our own deliberative attempt to make our best contribution to our day and generation.

We are not suggesting that our subjective experience of willingness to do right and our rationalization of conduct giving us a sense of social righteousness afford any objective evidence of the reality of God and of his will. It is entirely open to anyone to point out that such processes yield nothing more than social insight and intelligence and our own good will. We are not concerned to prove that there is a will of God, but only to insist that if we have already made the venture of faith in a divine purpose, there can be no way to find that purpose but by

[1] It is interesting that in the student conferences on social problems the earnest young people, full of zeal for social betterment, were again and again forced to the recognition that they must make more careful study of basal facts.

the processes of social investigation. Prayer can prepare our hearts for the task, but it cannot yield objective information or direction.

It may be objected that historically the will of God has not been identified with the result of any such deliberative process. Too often it has been one with the prejudices of the believer. Tyrannies, cruelties, and all intolerance have been committed in the name of the divine will. But this again is authoritarian religion. It always occurs where there is a concept of revelation outside of the social process. The revelation is an inspired book or an infallible church or by direct impartation to the individual. In each of these cases the criterion of truth is outside of human need. If the inspired Scripture is the revelation, then mere language is grammatically construed; if the church is the medium of revelation, then ecclesiastical interests determine the decision; if the individual is the recipient of revealed truth, then his own ideas and wishes will give form to the message.

The danger of finding the will of God outside the process of human living is that there is no provision for criticism and progress. The interpretation of Scripture is a matter of scholarly debate; decision of the church is in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities; and the individual is the most inaccessible of all, for if he declares that God has spoken to him, none can deny it.

The prophets[1] of our religion have not so proclaimed the will of God. They have always told us that we may find the way of right in the human situations in which we live. "The word which I command thee this day is not

[1] Soares, *The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible*, chap. xx, "The Relation of the Prophets to the Social Process."

too hard, neither is it far off . . . . it is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart." Micah declares the will of God to be the justice and kindness which may be found in human living. Jesus says: If you want to know what conduct would be right toward others, imagine how you would feel about it if it were done to yourself. He says God's Sabbath is man's Sabbath; religious defilement is that which is socially defiling. Paul finds the climax of spiritual enlightenment in the social virtues. The great commandment of the New Testament is love—a glorious paradox, for love cannot be exercised as mere obedience.

If the will of God is determined by the beneficence of its effect upon men, our understanding of it is subject to constant correction. Any uncertainty may be cleared up by the process of social investigation and experiment. As social understanding develops, duty will be modified. The will of God for Philemon was the kindly treatment of his slave; for Lincoln it was the Emancipation Proclamation. The will of God for a good employer a generation ago was the sixty-six-hour week, seventy-two hours being then universal; today we are committed to the forty-four-hour week as a maximum; and the whole problem of industrial organization is subject to constant ethical revision.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL DUTY

We have reached the point where our so-called "humanists" will say to us with some impatience: If you identify the will of God with social insight and good will, why do you not simplify the discussion by using only the latter terms? So when religion becomes most religious, we are to give it up altogether. When we have reached the prophetic interpretation of life and have found that

God does come to us in our best social understanding and does answer our prayers in our finest social sympathy, we are to say that he is thereby eliminated from human life. When religion becomes motivating in its highest degree, we are to discover that we do not need such motivation. If there be no God, of course we must find duty in the situations of life and through our best social insight. But if there be a God, it is exactly thus that he will reveal himself. Let us affirm that the ground for faith in a personal, ongoing righteousness is the very process of social evaluation that seems so truly human.

Is not this the resolution of the problem so much discussed among us: What is the meaning of religion in religious education? Or, as it is sometimes put: What must be added to a completely socialized education in order to make it religious? The latter query is unfortunate, because we do not add religion to life. Religion is rather a value that is given to all life. It is the experience of accord with beneficent, ongoing purpose; it is a feeling of the cosmic quality of righteousness—a faith that this goodly human society that we seek is not merely our little human invention but is in the very nature of things. It is the confidence that there is a will of God that may be discovered and that may be achieved. Let it be said even once more that this is an attempt to describe, not religion in general, but the religion in which we may bring up our children.

Children are very hospitable to the idea that a great righteousness is seeking to become effective in the world. It is not an imposed adult theology for them, it is the most natural religious experience. They quite understand when we say to them:

God wants to make us all happy. Here is a wonderful, beautiful world in which we can all live together, helping one another, loving one another. God wants us all to be clean, fair, merry, earnest, playing together, working together, and always kind. He cannot make a good world without us. If there is dirt and disorder, we must clear them away. If there is work to be done, we must all do it. If there is joy for any of us, it must be shared by all. If anyone is in trouble, we must help him. If anything is wrong, we must put it right. God will be with us in all this, giving us strength and courage to do his good will.

Children respond to this appeal to be workers together with God in making a good and happy world.

But how shall we know what will make a good and happy world? The answer to that question is a large part of religious education. We are to give children the opportunity of planning something good, then of carrying it into practice, then of watching the consequences of their conduct so as to estimate its quality. We are to enable them to study the conduct of others, both past and present, with recognition of its results and with determination whether such results are desirable or otherwise. We are to practice them in the imaginary estimate of the probable results of conduct, so that they may decide in advance to do what promises to be good and to avoid what is likely to be bad. Prayer is constantly to be an exercise for purifying purpose and developing motive. Worship is to be the means of entering into the experience of peace with God as a result of the consciousness of having co-operated with him in the enterprise of righteousness and of determining more earnestly to co-operate.

Older boys and girls and young people conceive the process with less naïveté, but the essential experience is not different. Religion is grounded in this deep motive

of finding out how to ally one's self with the ongoing energy of Righteousness. *Religious education has for its aim the development of persons devoted to the highest social well-being, which they identify as the will of God; religious education has for its method the progressive direction of youth toward the development of skill in deliberative determination of conduct with reference to its social consequences.*

THE DELIBERATIVE QUALITY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

This progressive direction becomes curriculum. It is already very effectively done in the kindergarten. The little children readily see the duty of feeding the birds in winter and providing water for them in summer. They know the discomfort of hunger and thirst and realize that they can make themselves God's helpers in caring for his little creatures. Song, story, and prayer enforce the meaning of this simple beneficence. Similarly they can be led to see the nature of cruelty to animals. Simple questions of right and wrong can be talked out, always keeping in view the consequences. Little children most naturally enter into prayer for help to do what they know is right and to avoid what they recognize to be wrong.

A group of children before Christmas, engaged in making little articles for gifts, were envisaging in advance the pleasure that the recipients would have in the acceptance, and were thus entering into the experience that it is more blessed to give than to receive. Again, song, story, scripture, and prayer developed the sense of the joy of giving and of God as the Great Giver.

Family life affords abundant opportunity for the deliberative determination of conduct with social and religious purpose. A Christian family should regard itself as

a unit in the enterprise of righteousness. Family projects should be undertaken as the result of family decisions, each of the children having his say and receiving due consideration. Many families make their budgets in committee of the whole. Philanthropic and missionary endeavors are undertaken together. Community responsibilities are recognized. Efforts are set on foot to abate evils and to remove undesirable conditions from the community. Each member of the family might be encouraged to bring his peculiar problems to the family council for discussion. Nothing knits people together, younger and older, like a sympathetic consideration of personal problems.

The ethics of home life must be worked out in further discussion without impatience, without arrogant assumption of superior knowledge by parents, and with utter willingness to allow any view to be expressed. Happy that home in which the young people feel that there can be tolerant consideration of every interesting suggestion. Why should not a family make constant re-examination of its conduct and of its positions, collecting information from the practice of neighbors, seeking advice from others who have made experiments, ascertaining social consequences of different types of behavior. Simple plans of social research may be quite fascinating to boys and girls who, in the absence of the sympathy of parents, may feel that their elders do not understand the world in which the younger generation is living. How naturally family prayer might develop from these co-operative deliberations. It would not be the conventional exercise to which reluctant members were dragged, but a common serious endeavor to find the will of God.

We have been singularly inept in recognizing the op-

portunities of helping young people to deliberative self-direction. A minister met a group of his church boys at the corner of the street on a sultry Sunday afternoon. They said, "Doctor, what can we do on Sunday? We know it is not right to go in swimming, but is there anything we can do except stand here and rot?" Here were boys ready for deliberation; here was an apparently impossible situation waiting to be cleared up; here was a chance with the help of parents and church leaders to work out a Sunday program. It might have been a genuine effort to find the will of God. But the minister did not know what to do any more than the boys.

Practice in the determination of right conduct should have a large place in the curriculum. Neuberg's[1] organization of the problems of young adolescents gives a good opportunity for such discussion. Even more attention might have been paid to the attempt to forecast the consequences of the various types of conduct under consideration. Many alert teachers have conducted classes in which the current moral problems of the students would be brought up for discussion. In one such class so much interest was developed that the students kept notebooks in which to jot down the practical difficulties that arose during the week. We need some development of technique for such ethical analysis. Shaver[2] has outlined a technique for older young people for the scientific study of ethical questions, including a devotional program in which scripture, song, and prayer would give the religious atmosphere for the clarification of insight and the purification of motive.

[1] *Right Living*, Ser. I and II.

[2] "Young People's Projects."

CHANGING ETHICAL STANDARDS

It is through such educative process that we must answer the question of the magazine writer quoted above: "What shall we substitute for right and wrong as standards for our young people?" Beauty is a good criterion, but it is not emphatic enough. The difficulty with the acceptance of the standards of right and wrong by our youth is that we have tried to impose upon them our adult standards and have still been governed by the superstition that obedience is virtue. If we have spoken to them of the will of God, it has been as a will that we were prepared to define. We have not sufficiently presented to them religious faith as the daring hypothesis that this is a world pushing on toward wholesome, abundant, joyous social life, and that it is their high and solemn task to find out how to further the great enterprise, and their most craven failure if they hinder it. When they have asked us what is right, we have not been brave enough to tell them that nobody knows so well what is right that he may presume to tell it to another, but that their generation must set to work to find out the right for itself; and that it is a hard task calling for thought, study, investigation, but their duty is to undertake it.

These words are written on a visit to a great university where the question of women's smoking has just been left to a settlement by the students themselves. The important matter is not so much the decision as the process by which it has been reached. Who knows whether women ought to smoke? People who have never smoked decide the matter according to their own feelings. "He men" puffing at their own pipes are disgusted that women are losing their womanliness. The girls in this

particular institution decided the question on the sole ground that the university should not make regulations for one section of the student body that did not apply to the whole. But nobody knows any more about the ethics of the matter than was known at the beginning.

This is just the type of question that should be studied most carefully. If any indulgence gives pleasure there is a presumption at once in its favor, no matter what prejudice there may be against it. But are there other considerations, hygienic, aesthetic, economic? Will an indulgence by some become reasonably objectionable to others? Will there be influences upon younger persons that should be taken into account? Have there been any scientific studies that throw any light on the various results to those who indulge and to those who do not? The moral value of studying a problem in this exhaustive way with reference to reaching a deliberative judgment based upon full recognition of social consequences, is probably as great as anything that takes place in the educational process. The religious quality arises in the spirit in which it is undertaken, and comes to its highest expression in prayer. In the nature of the case there could not be prayer for magical revelation, which would be incongruous with the very deliberative process out of which the prayer arose. It would be prayer for moral illumination, for courage to take the course which the investigation indicated to be right, for happy acceptance of whatever conclusion seemed to be clear. "The will of God is our peace." In such an investigation the will of God cannot be identified with asceticism, with prejudice, or with desire. It must be found in the socially most valuable conduct that our best insight can estimate.

The sex question, so seriously before us today, must be settled in this fashion. A young woman, a very able religious leader among her comrades, stated in a public conference that she was accustomed to say to her men friends: "I enjoy petting as well as you do. We both know it is wrong, so let us not do it." This is plain speaking, but we need plainer speaking still. When a judge of a juvenile court is advocating "companionate marriage," it is desirable that our young people should seriously find out for themselves what the will of God is. What kind of sex attitudes and relations will promote the highest social well-being? Pleasure is an element in the decision, but is it the only element? The young people ought to study this. Let them find out what is to be learned from medical science; what are the social advantages and disadvantages of our present marriage system; what consideration is to be given to the welfare of the children of the future; whether there are or are not desirable limits to sex excitation in dancing, theatrical performances, romantic literature, etc. There is a great deal of ignorance on all phases of this subject, and a great deal of unwillingness to consider many of its aspects, for it is far easier to be impulsive than to be deliberative. Moreover, impulsive wrongdoing always seems to be less reprehensible than deliberate wrongdoing. Religious education will be concerned with providing situations in which there is such practice in deliberation that it will progressively become a moral habit in the presence of social problems.

THE CONFESSIONAL RETREAT

A technique of religious education has been developed in this field and used in many of our colleges with results

that merit careful consideration. It may be called the "confessional retreat." A group of students, sometimes of both sexes, will go off for a week-end to some quiet hotel or country house. They will read the Bible aloud together; they will pray for guidance and illumination; presently they will begin to confess acts of what they believe to be wrongdoing. Naturally these are predominantly those belonging to the sex life. A deep sense of moral dereliction develops, as the confession of one stimulates that of another. Where both sexes are present, this may become very intense. Prayer for moral strength and purification emerges. In many cases there is a resultant inhibition of impulse and a distinct rectification of life. Perhaps in other cases there is a certain subtle sex gratification out of the somewhat morbid experience. The history of religion is full of warnings in this direction.

The main criticism of this technique is that which applies to all negative introspective processes. A hypersensitive condition is induced which tends toward the ascetic attitude. In its extreme form this comes to regard an experience as evil just because it is pleasurable. Some leaders of this very movement are definite sex ascetics. The introspective process does bring clearly to mind definite wrongdoing, and this is not to be disregarded. But it does not settle any question where there is uncertainty of opinion. In such a retreat as that described above it is probable that the young people would come to rather sweeping conclusions regarding permissible sex relationships. But this would be the result of a highly emotionalized sense of the evil of improper relations. Would it contribute much toward practical conduct? The danger would always be that far-reaching resolutions would be made

which more sober judgment would regard as extravagant. Not having been the result of deliberation and discrimination, there is no body of fact and reasoned conclusion to fall back on; there is only the memory of an emotion which has evaporated.

On such a subject as sex attitudes there is no need to superinduce emotion. It will come naturally enough, and sufficiently enough, in the right religious atmosphere. Far more needed is a definite attempt to decide, in view of all the facts and in view of the highest social ideals, what ought to be our conduct. A group engaged in such study and investigation would very naturally be moved to prayer. What is the will of God in this difficult moral problem? How may we find the wholesome joys of life that have only beneficent social consequences? Religious education must create situations for the healthy, and not the morbid, discussion of these problems. The confessional retreat is probably not the best type of such educational situation. No argument is necessary to demonstrate that lurid evangelism, oratorical exaggeration, invective, and abuse have no place whatever. Pious horror that anyone should suggest anything unconventional is equally inappropriate. Let the young people talk out what they think. Instead of talking it out in "bull sessions" without study, without any basis but their superficial information and haphazard conjecture, let them undertake to learn all that can be known, to endeavor seriously to estimate the social consequences of any suggested behavior, to ask what type of youthful life will tend toward the kind of world which they want those whom they love to live in. The ongoing righteousness of the universe must be worked out with, and not against, this sex urge that is

so insistent. What then is the will of God, not just the God of the saints, but the God of our youthful life?

ETHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LARGER SOCIETY

The practice of boys and girls and of young people in the analysis of the social situations in which they most immediately find themselves will prepare them for similar analysis in the larger society of which they are a part. At the same time that we invite them to think out questions of duty, we must admit that we ourselves have a similar task in which we shall need their help. There is a strange notion that loyalties must be founded on ignorance and that they are incompatible with the critical attitude. We are told that children must love their country so well that they will not see anything wrong in it, they must be so proud of American achievement, and so horrified with bolshevism, that they will accept our social order as satisfactory; that they must be so loyal to their particular church that they will not suffer any discussion of its doctrines or its practice.

Of course the very opposite is true. The noblest loyalties are founded in understanding. We love our inherited institutions most when we determine that they shall be brought to their best. We ought, therefore, to let our children understand very early that we have a confused and ill-adjusted society, sorely in need of improvement. As we introduce them to the relief of poverty, we should at the same time let them know that poverty is largely the failure of society to organize its economic life. We should encourage them to be critics of the social order. High-school boys and girls are quite competent to study the conditions of employment in the factories, shops, stores,

offices, and homes of the community; the wages paid; the cost of living; the conditions of housing. If the public school is too much under the control of politics to make this possible, the church ought to be courageous enough to inspire its youth to see our society as it is, and to ask whether it is according to the will of God.[1]

High-school students ought to face their duty as citizens with regard to the problem of war. We sing the Christmas carols of peace; we pray for God's will to be done on earth; we read the scripture hopes of the golden age; and we leave all this emotion unrelated to the practical question of how wars are fomented, how international misunderstandings arise, and what means are available for peaceful settlement. At best we preach to the young people on the subject. Preaching is good, but it should be supplemented by study. There is a body of fact which is accessible to the student; there are various opinions which should be examined and evaluated. Deliberative conduct in the achievement of world-peace is one of the prime objects of religious education today.

A SUMMARY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

In the satisfactory educative process the child will receive at the beginning the mores of his group; he will accept the authoritative direction of parents and teachers; he will develop a large range of conduct socially desirable from the standpoint of his group; he will rise above the lower levels of the group morality by the lure of its ideals; he will come to understand that the good must be determined by finding out how it works in its effects on human

[1] Coe has given a pungent discussion of this matter in *What Ails Our Youth?*

life, and he will be practiced in such evaluation. He will transcend mere obedience by intelligent choices of evident goodness or by acceptance of expert direction. He will be inspired by the faith that the divine good will is operating for a better human society, and will seek to be a co-operator in the beneficent enterprise. He will increasingly achieve skill in analyzing the social situations in which he finds himself, with a view to the determination of his own conduct in the light of its probable results. He will feel himself to be a citizen of the larger society and will seek to analyze the conditions of that society, ever asking himself where they are unsatisfactory and how they can be improved. He will keep a radiant faith that every wrong can be righted and every right can be achieved, with a divine discontent that the process is so slow and with an unflinching endeavor to do his best to hasten it. He will seek and expect illumination and enablement from the Power of Goodness that is more than human. While constantly holding his conduct subject to criticism, he will develop ever larger ranges of habit in which his conduct accords with his ideals. Beyond such habitual behavior he will meet the problems of conduct with ability to decide them in view of their largest social meanings and ever with a profound feeling of the relation of his own behavior to the will of God. The progressive development of situations favorable to the practice of this way of living is the process of religious education.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. If a college class is studying this subject and the members would be willing to make some frank statements of their own views and behavior, some psychological analyses of great value would be possible. Let each member of the class select three or four instances in which his own habitual conduct is sufficiently different

from that of his parents to constitute what we have called a challenge of the group morality. Let him analyze that conduct, classifying each instance according to the types of challenge indicated in this chapter. If any behavior should seem to fall outside of the four types, the discrepancy should be carefully noted.

2. Let the class tabulate the results of these analyses, endeavoring to determine the moral trend of the behavior under consideration. Particularly it should be noted how far the behavior is the result of deliberation.

3. To what extent is the organization of the college life on the basis of authority and obedience? Estimate the moral significance of the situation.

4. Discuss the place of obedience defined as "the unquestioning acceptance of the imposed will of another" in the moral development of children and youth.

5. What is the military theory of the value of obedience? Is there any distinction between the organizational value of obedience for the efficient operation of great bodies of men in war and its educational value in the moral development of the individual?

6. Distinguish psychologically between the following types of conduct: impulsive, habitual, idealistic, obedient, deliberative. Give examples of each from your own observation.

7. Consider the psychological process by which any great religious leader became convinced that he was doing the will of God. How far must it be related to the social experience?

8. Amos insisted that Jehovah was interested in social justice. What experience lay behind his preaching? Consider whether he had made any study of social conditions in Israel.

9. Is it significant that the record of Jesus' reputation for obedience is placed immediately after the story of his being away all night without permission?

10. The Earl of Shaftesbury, a most godly man, became convinced that reforms were tragically necessary in the English factory system. What was the connection between his social and his religious experience?

11. Examine Neuberg's *Right Living* and Shaver's "Young People's Projects," and consider the relation between the deliberative and the devotional techniques.

12. Discuss the religious motivation of social study and experiment. Consult "The Church as a Prophet of Unity," by Ellsworth Faris, *Journal of Religion*, May, 1927.

13. What place shall we give in religious education to the petitions, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done"?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Endeavor to recall some instances in which there was a break in the integrity of the group mores of your family, school, or church, which caused you to lose the sense of their obligation. What did this mean in your experience?

2. Have you had a wider social experience than one or more of the early groups in which you were brought up? What effect has this had on your conduct?

3. Have you had any experience of revolt against the prescriptions of any of the groups to which you belonged?

4. Have you developed any moral criticism of the group mores which has led you to what seemed to you to be more socialized views of behavior?

5. Sketch your own experience of authority and obedience, and estimate its significance.

6. Consider your earliest conceptions of the will of God. What did they mean in your experience?

7. Endeavor to follow the development of this concept in your experience. How far has it functioned as motivation?

8. If we seek to discover and to perform our social duty, is there any necessity to consider the will of God?

9. How far in your own religious experience does a divine purposiveness seem to be an encouragement to social endeavor?

10. How far was your own religious education a practice in considering the social consequences of conduct (*a*) in young childhood, (*b*) in later childhood, (*c*) in high-school years, (*d*) in college years?

11. What contributions were made to this practice by home, schools, friends, youth organizations, church?

12. What practical suggestions for parents and teachers grow out of your own experience?

CHAPTER XIII

THE EXPERIENCE OF CHURCHMANSHIP

We have more than once had occasion to consider the naturalness and significance of the church as the religious community. This is the nearest approach possible today to that community quality of religion which existed when the whole people had the same religious customs and habits and the same body of religious ideas. We shall probably never again have one religion which unites us all in common observances, obligations, and ideals. This, which is the inevitable result of our individualism, our spiritual liberty, our treasured right to find the truth for ourselves, is yet a serious loss. All the more important is it that there should be a religious community in which membership is free, wherein our individualism and liberty can be expressed, but which supplies the sense of belonging with those who share with us the highest values and obligations of life.

CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCE OF CHURCHMANSHIP

Thus the sense of being a member of the church is a social experience comparable with that of membership in the family, the community, and the nation. It has the same quality of the shared life—of common privileges, of common duties. If Christianity were national, as in the Middle Ages, or to a degree in Roman Catholic countries today, it would be a quality of the shared life of all the groups in which we live. There is a sense in which reli-

gion as moral purpose may have this general character among us today. We do have the sense of a community of the socially minded; and this is a great social achievement, which we want our children to share. But our religion is also particularized in special types and is institutionalized in churches. The experience of church membership, therefore, has a peculiarly religious character; and it is of the highest importance that children should grow up in this experience. As we help them to feel their family membership and their citizenship in the community and in the nation, so must we help them to be conscious of their membership in the church group.

There are many people outside the church—some for various reasons of objection to the institution, some whose habits would not be acceptable to the church, some whose anti-social attitudes represent the antithesis of all that the church stands for. What is the effect upon children of classifying them with these outsiders? If we should tell them that they are not Americans but that we hope some day they may be admitted to the nation, or that they are not members of the family but may eventually be worthy to be included in it, is it not very clear that we should break those strong social bands that give life its value and its joy? Our children are not aliens or orphans; neither are they outside the fellowship of the church.

But may the children of non-religious or irreligious families have this experience of belonging to the religious group? The only answer to that question is an examination of the psychological facts. If the church has been able so to companion these children who have come into its life, so to include them in its habits and practices, so

to share with them its ideals, so to enlist them in its social enterprise, that they have come to feel that it is "our church," then it is certainly desirable that they should have the same right to the experience of membership that the children of the church families enjoy. Their need is not so much a conversion as a companioning, or a companioning as a condition of conversion.

THE INITIATION CEREMONY

Yet there is a difference between the natural conforming, and inevitable character, of the relation of the child to the society into which he is born, or in which he grows up, and the self-directive character of the youth relation. This has received almost universal recognition in the tribal initiation ceremony. Initiation never meant that the child was not previously a member of the tribe, but that he was an immature member, not yet ready to learn the secrets, to assume the responsibilities, and to enjoy the privileges which belong to adult life. No child before initiation ever felt himself as an outsider or desired initiation before the proper time had arrived. His status was entirely satisfactory until the customary period when the new dignity could be attained.

Probably too much emphasis has been put upon the sex aspects of the initiation ceremony, as certainly the sex aspects of religion have been greatly exaggerated. The attainment of puberty in primitive life meant the separation of the boys from the women, and their inclusion in the life of the men; it often meant that marriage could be undertaken, so that the youth became the head of a family; but the sex maturity was only indicative of social maturity—the ability to hunt and fight with the

men, the ability to take up the responsibilities of the tribe, and the ability to understand the mysteries of the tribal lore.

Initiation, like all the ceremonies of the tribe, had a highly religious character. The secrets imparted to the youth were often religious. The experiences connected with the vigil, fasting, the search for the divine, even the physical trials of endurance, were all colored with religious feeling. Probably at times there were experiences of the release of tensions, of exaltation, even of ecstasy. In that great moment when the tribe was making the boy its own, he may have heard the voice of the god of the tribe calling him to be faithful.

This technique, probably accidental in its origin, but elaborated as experience revealed the emotional effects of various practices, became one of the most cherished means of cementing and developing the tribal solidarity. Of course there was no such philosophizing about it; it was purely an empirical experience; but whenever the initiation took place, the emotional results both in the youth and in the elders validated its high significance.

THE JEWISH "SON OF THE LAW"

Whether the Hebrews employed anything of the nature of the tribal initiation, we do not know. There is nothing in the Old Testament that sheds any light upon the subject. In later Judaism, when the Law had assumed fundamental importance in life and education, the boy became fully responsible for the observance of its obligations at the age of puberty. Schürer[1] states that the expression *Bar-Mizvah* ("son of the law") is found already

[1] *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, II, 51 f.

in the Talmud but was not generally used as the designation of a full-grown Israelite till the Middle Ages; and that while the legal obligation was originally set at the appearance of puberty, it was subsequently made prescriptive at thirteen years of age. He thinks that the essentials of the practice were in operation in Jesus' day. It is interesting to speculate as to the relation of this ceremonial to the exquisite story of the experience of the boy Jesus at twelve years of age. As Luke relates it, there seems to be something of the character of the religious awakening, the new birth into the appreciation of the Father, surpassing the simple attitude of childhood.

While children, both girls and boys, were not only to be instructed in the Law, but were under obligations of obedience, it is very significant that at puberty the boy (and to a less extent the girl, because her obligations, as well as her privileges, were limited) was to take upon himself the responsibility of membership in the Jewish community. He had been born a Jew, brought up a Jew, had enjoyed unbroken Jewish experience, and yet upon reaching this period of maturity he was expected solemnly to accept the Jewish system as his own.

It is important to note that in this technique the child evidently never felt himself outside the religious community; he had exhibited no impatience to assume the larger relationship; he never felt irked by the period of tutelage as involving a derogatory status; he was perfectly satisfied to be a child-member of the community and ready at the proper time, and after due preparation, to be promoted to full status. The psychology of this experience is very suggestive for modern religious education.

CHRISTIAN CONFIRMATION

There is practically no reference to religious education in the New Testament. Ministers looking for texts have often deplored their paucity. Beyond a few exhortations regarding parental discipline, the matter seems to be ignored. The reason is, doubtless, that religious education was so well understood that no injunction was necessary. Religion was a social experience of the family and of the community in all that Mediterranean world—Jewish, Graeco-Roman, barbarian. Religious habits and practices, hopes and ideals, were the common property of the family group. When Christianity supplanted the old faith, the parents inevitably shared with their children the new experience that had come to them. It was all experiential; there were no Sunday schools, lessons, catechisms; it was still faith, hope, and love.

With the mystery of the sacraments, and the development of doctrine, the necessity of training the immature in the understanding of the faith became manifest. The preparation had been made for this in the probationary training to which the heathen were subject. The church was unwilling to receive converts into its membership until they had sufficient understanding of the fundamentals of Christianity to be able to give a reason for the faith that was in them. The Apostles' Creed developed as the expression of the common faith, the Teaching of the Apostles, and the catechisms were prepared for the further elucidation of doctrine. The school of the catechumens, organized for the heathen adults, was equally serviceable for the children of the faithful. There may have been some influence from the Jewish practice, but, in any case, the logic of the situation inevitably led to the development of the confirmation technique.

As we pointed out in chapter i, the dogma of natural depravity led to the compensating dogma of baptismal regeneration. Thus the child born into the Christian group became a spiritual member of the group by the initiatory sacrament. He grew up in the experience of churchmanship, for that was assured to him by his baptism. However, the Christian system demanded the exercise of personal faith and the acceptance of the creedal formulas. This was done for the infant by proxy by his sponsors; at some time he must do it for himself. The church did not definitely connect this act of maturity with the attainment of puberty; but most naturally, whether there was any influence from Jewish usage or not, the free acceptance of spiritual responsibility tended to come at the beginning of adolescence.

Early in the Christian development the Lord's Supper became the great mystery in which the essential doctrine of the church was symbolized, and through which divine grace was imparted. Only those converts who passed through the catechumenate could be admitted to the mystery. Equally, only those children could be admitted who had reached a like spiritual maturity.

There was another highly emotional experience of the early Christians which had become dogmatized into a sacrament. The exultant sense of the immediate presence of God, so characteristic of a certain type of conversion, is called in the New Testament "the gift of the Holy Spirit." Sometimes this more rapturous experience occurred later than the first acceptance of the gospel. The presence of the apostles, on account of their nearness to Jesus and their higher spiritual prestige, was often the occasion of this experience. As these different experiences were theologized, baptism became the sacrament of regen-

eration, and confirmation the sacrament of the gift of the Holy Spirit. The latter could only be conferred by the bishop as the successor of the apostles.

What, then, did this mean in the experience of the children? From earliest years they knew that they were members of the church by baptism. They grew up, therefore, in the experience of churchmanship. But they knew that a higher privilege awaited them, when they should attain sufficient maturity to enter into it. They must prepare for this carefully by learning the catechism, following the rules of Christian conduct, and understanding the Christian faith. Then upon a high day, especially set apart, and in the presence of the bishop, they took upon themselves the vows of Christian responsibility; they were confirmed; they received, as the hands of the bishop touched their heads, the gift of the Holy Spirit; and they were admitted to the most sacred mystery of their religion, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.[1] As a technique for the development of the sense of churchmanship this could not be surpassed.

The reformed churches rejected the sacrament of confirmation, insisting that the New Testament recognized only two sacraments; but both the Anglican and the Lutheran churches retained the name and the technique in all its essential forms; while the Calvinistic churches, laying great emphasis upon the catechism, admitted children to the Lord's Supper only when satisfied that they were fully prepared.

While admirably adapted to the development of the

[1] In the Roman Catholic church children are admitted to the Communion before confirmation as a means of spiritual nourishment. This again enhances the experience of churchmanship.

experience of churchmanship, the confirmation technique has two serious drawbacks. In the first place there is the danger that the requirement of catechetical knowledge shall overemphasize the intellectual element in the process. Children will come to think of the necessity of passing their examinations in order to get from a condition of tutelage into that freedom of the church life where no lessons are required. In the hands of a skilful pastor who understands the psychology of adolescent religious experience this may be avoided, the catechetical aspect minimized, and the social significance of the step forward made clear. The second difficulty is that it may be too much an experience of churchmanship. The church is, after all, only a means to an end. Religious living in the larger society and not too great loyalty to any institution is our goal. We must be jealous of any technique that would tend to routinize the vital ethical religion, which we are utterly unwilling to think of in any terms but that of social passion. If religion should ever come to mean being baptized, learning a catechism, being confirmed, it would have lost all its value for modern social life. Against this formality evangelicalism made its great protest.

THE CONVERSION TECHNIQUE

Some of the churches went further at the Reformation than the denial of sacramental confirmation. They insisted upon personal repentance and faith as prerequisites to regeneration. They denied that baptism itself was the means of the miraculous change from the depraved to the redeemed nature. The great evangelical movement of the eighteenth century passionately protested against religion as mere churchmanship and insisted upon a per-

sonal experience of spiritual enlightenment and moral power. This led to a strong emphasis upon conversion as the turning away from the old life of sin and the adoption of the new life of righteousness. The technique of evangelism is designed to secure a shift of attention, so that the sinner shall see only the horror, the meanness, the shame of his darling sins, and the happiness, freedom, and peace of the life of faith.

What does this mean in the experience of children? If everybody needs salvation, and only through conversion can it be secured, the greatest effort must be made to bring the children into the experience of conviction of sin and the exercise of faith. This has been the deliberate endeavor of the church. This has been the aim of religious education. The revival techniques, developed especially during the last century, have always been applied to children as well as to adults.

The utmost confusion has resulted in the child's experience. To be sure, common sense inevitably triumphed over a dogma which had no relation to the facts of life, and children of Christian families have been brought up with some sense of belonging to the religious group. They have been taught to be Christians; they have been urged to live in a Christian way; they have been encouraged to pray Christian prayers and to sing Christian hymns. But suddenly they have been informed that it was time for them to become Christians. By dint of the powerful suggestion of the revival meeting, the expectations of friends, the prayers and entreaties of parents, teachers, and ministers, the children have generally achieved something of the experience expected of them and have been "saved."

The church was obliged to do this as long as it held

to its orthodoxy. If children were lost, they must be saved. As they cannot be saved until they exercise faith, they must be brought up as satisfactorily as possible in the church until they can believe. If they become too secure and imagine themselves to belong to the church in which they have grown up, they must be, as it were, put outside of the church in order that they may be properly brought in. That is to say, the church, having an effective technique for bringing a sinner into its fold, must put its own children into the condition of the outside sinner, in order that they too may be conscious of being brought into the fold.

This is not a caricature; it is a recital of tragic facts. The writer has received from students in his classes this very summer numerous statements of which the following are examples: "In our community people were viewed as saved and unsaved; all of us needed to be converted. Having come into the religious life more normally, this worried me for many years." "My family believed in depravity and *expected* me to be saved. At the age of ten I obliged them and faked a 'conversion' to their entire satisfaction. I realized I was a hypocrite, and my religious life was unhappy until years later in college." If young men in the Christian ministry and now attending the university were brought up in this fashion it is clear that the principles of religious education are not yet completely understood.

We have no statistics of the large number of boys and girls who have failed to meet the expectations of conversion, have been unable to achieve the emotional experience which was supposed to be necessary, and have given up religion as impossible for them.

THE DECISION-DAY TECHNIQUE

Two generations ago Horace Bushnell warned the church that it was losing its greatest opportunity by thus classing its own children with the heathen and then laboriously seeking to convert them. *Christian Nurture* is the simple, sane statement of the educational principle that the child may grow up in his religious group and never know himself anything but a member of it, sharing its life and its purposes.

The utter inappropriateness of revivalism in the case of children, and the absurdity of insistence upon a stereotyped conversion experience, has led to the substitution of the decision day. This is an endeavor to provide an opportunity for the children who have grown up in the church to register their loyalty, to express their personal faith. The term is not altogether a happy one. What the children are expected to decide is by no means clear. In many cases the decision is only the old-fashioned conversion technique with a new name, for the children are urged to decide to become Christians, to take Christ as their personal Savior.

What is the relation of this decision to their previous experience? One minister told the children that they were asked to take the first step in the Christian life. A fourteen-year-old boy went home and asked his father what they had been doing all the time. Is it a decision, like that of confirmation, to come into the full membership of the church, to assume the responsibilities that belong to adolescent life? This is an understandable procedure, for complete church membership should be accomplished by voluntary choice, the acceptance for one's self of that which has been done by parents and friends, and the affirmation of one's personal loyalty and faith.

But the decision day suffers from another of the disadvantages of the conversion technique. It involves a desirable change of status. While this is not so serious and compelling as the change from the condition of being lost to that of being saved, it is a change from the condition of one outside the church membership, unrecognized as having Christian status, to that of satisfactory inclusion in the religious body. Moreover, it is generally strongly urged upon the young people by the church leaders. There is every inducement, therefore, for quite young children to respond. The church was glad when ten-, nine-, eight-, even six-year-old children wanted to be saved; why should there not be similar satisfaction if such young children want to decide for the church and its enterprise? And if the children are refused, if they are told that they are not old enough, will there not be inevitable disappointment and a feeling of being left outside the group with which they wish to ally themselves? If they are received, this important step loses the quality of an adolescent experience, which is its essential characteristic.

The whole matter calls for a complete re-examination, perhaps some very radical change in our nomenclature. We are crippled by outgrown theologies which still spread their confusion upon our educational endeavors.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITIES OF THE CHURCHMANSHIP EXPERIENCE

In the churches which do not practice confirmation there is today no adequate experience of churchmanship. Children go to Sunday school for a number of years and then "join the church." Some communions recognize a "covenant membership" of the children. This has the dif-

ficulty of an obscure theological suggestion and does not provide for those children who have come into the Sunday school from non-religious families. The Methodist church recognizes a "probationary membership" of children. The term is traditional, but it is very unfortunate, as it indicates a condition from which one would naturally wish to emerge as soon as possible. It is distinctly derogatory to be on probation.[1] Moreover, all these bodies, equally with those which do not practice infant baptism, invite their adolescents to "join the church," clearly implying that in any true sense they do not belong.

Much of this confusion results from the existence of the Sunday school as an organization separate from the church. The complete abolition of the school would be a long step in advance. It is an obsolete institution. Historically the Sunday school was a lay movement of religious education which formed an alliance with the church. The Sunday-school superintendent has always regarded himself as the head of the institution. The time has come for the church to resume its function of religious education, for the minister to resume his function of educational direction, for the separate institution of a religious school to be abandoned.

We need a church and only a church. It will have two kinds of members: those who have grown up in its life, learning its ways but not yet mature enough for a self-directive acceptance of its purpose and enterprise; and those who have attained such maturity and have affirmed with understanding and dedication that the church of their childhood is their own by personal choice. In this latter number will belong also those adults who

[1] The Methodist Episcopal Church has changed this designation to "preparatory membership"—a much more satisfactory expression.

have not grown up in the church but have voluntarily joined its membership.

A very important requirement is that some significant names should be devised for these two classes of members. Perhaps the simplest nomenclature would be to keep the name "member," as it is now used, for those who are in full standing, and "communicants" where that expression is traditional (to the non-sacramentalist it is objectionable). Perhaps the name "junior member" might be employed for the children. The junior church is already a well-understood institution, but at present it is applied only to those who attend a particular religious service. It might be possible to take the name from this restricted use and apply it to the entire body of children who have not yet attained full status in the membership of the church.

There are at once two difficulties in the way of this name. The term "junior" is used for the department of nine-, ten-, and eleven-year-olds, and the junior high school is composed of just the boys and girls who would be graduating from the junior membership of the church. The former difficulty could be removed by securing another name for the older childhood group, or by retaining it in the recognition that it is just the children of that age who are particularly the junior members of the church, not quite ready for the further step. The second difficulty would have to be accepted. Today we have a junior church which is below the junior high school; we have the junior department which is also below the junior high school; and we have the junior college which is above the senior high school. No name will ever be without ambiguity, but usage will soon establish its significance.

The junior church would be departmentalized into the

beginners, primary, and juniors; the senior church would be departmentalized into early, middle, and later adolescent groups with appropriate names, not necessarily standardized, for local names are often better; and the adult group would have with its men's and women's organizations. Each of these departments would have its own program of religious activity; combinations of departments would be made for specific activities; the senior church would often meet for some communal acts of worship and sociality and would engage in certain large corporate enterprises; the entire church from babies to grandparents would sometimes meet to get the sense of the solidarity of the great religious institution.

What would this mean in child experience? Baptized or dedicated children, or those of church parentage, would most naturally grow up with the feeling of belonging to the fellowship. Other children would also share the experience without any necessary connection with baptism or dedication or with a religious home. Junior church membership would be as informal, but as real, as Sunday-school enrolment is today. Tens of thousands of children, whose families have no church connection whatever, do actually now have very definite experience of membership in the Sunday school. We are insisting that this ought to be a church experience. If they have entered into the fellowship of the worshiping group, sharing its practices and its sympathies, they would most naturally feel themselves a part of it if we gave them the opportunity. Of course, as in the case of the Sunday school today, those who were mere casual attendants would have no such sense of membership.

The experience of junior church membership would

be a growth. It would be emphasized by the church and brought into the common consciousness on all possible occasions. With the abandonment of the Sunday school as a separate institution, there would no longer be the absurd distinction that elders go to church and children go to Sunday school. All who were participants in the exercises of the institution of worship would be recognized as attendants at church. The children who had worshiped in the primary group would say and feel that they had been to church. This name would no longer be monopolized by a special service attended by adults. Perhaps the term "public worship" would be used, as indicating the more general character of this particular function.

The status of junior membership would be a happy and satisfactory experience, with no sense of that precarious character which now attaches to the childhood situation in the non-sacramental churches. There is nothing derogatory in being a junior. No sense of exclusion would exist when the church accorded to the children the status that belongs to their immaturity, and gave to them a title which indicated that they were regarded as progressing appropriately toward complete status.

Inasmuch as it would be definitely understood that the junior membership extended through the elementary division of the church, approximately to the twelfth year (i.e., what we now call the junior department), there would be no expectation on the part of pre-adolescent children that they should move forward to the fuller status. This is one of the most serious disadvantages of the conversion and the decision-day techniques. The church feels under the obligation of calling its boys and girls to a supreme duty and, at the same time, of discourag-

ing younger children who are eager to perform that duty.

We need not here enter into the discussion of the best methods of setting the limit to the elementary division of the church. Shall it be chronological age? The boy- and girl-programs are so generally organized from the twelfth year that this is perhaps most convenient. Shall we follow the public school and set the limit at the end of the sixth grade? As the junior high school scheme becomes more general, this will have an increasing significance. Or shall we make some endeavor to determine more definitely the social and spiritual maturity of individual children? These are very interesting questions, which do not, however, affect our main contention. The local church, or the denomination, or the community, will come to some clear decision as to the distinction between the children's division of the church life and the youth division. Junior membership only belongs to the former; church membership in its fuller sense is the privilege of the latter. Such limits cannot be set to salvation, but we can very properly make such distinction between the less and the more mature members of the religious group. Having removed all stigma from the former, we may expect no more impatience from the children in their junior status than that healthy looking forward, which now characterizes their desire to join one of the youth organizations, which they clearly understand require a certain age attainment.

THE CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP TECHNIQUE

We are by no means suggesting any minimizing of the significance of the advance step to full church member-

ship. In the revolt from revivalism and conversion some serious mistakes have been made at this point. There are churches which keep a roll book for the young people to sign whenever they feel that they would like to be considered as members of the organization. It is less significant than joining a club.

The pastor of a large church, whose polity requires that applications for membership shall be voted upon by the congregation, and who had found some difficulty in inducing his pleasure-loving young people to give serious attention to the matter, finally rounded up a company of them and presented them to his deacons for recommendation to the church. When the evening arrived at which the applications were to be voted on, the young people were otherwise engaged at a dancing party. The significance of church membership to them could scarcely have been very great.

The traditional techniques were psychologically right in recognizing that the assumption of obligations of membership in the religious institution was one of the significant epochs of life. What would we think of a society which initiated its adults into secret orders with ritual and ceremonial calculated to impress upon them the high meaning of the occasion, but which provided for its adolescents no opportunity of insight, no conditions for a profound experience, when they took their vows to be cooperators with God and their fellows in the holy enterprise of righteousness and love? The struggle at the mourner's bench, the deep anxiety and the lively conviction of sin, the sense of being lost and saved, are not natural and healthy experiences of church children, and they were clearly superinduced by the expectancies of the el-

ders; but they did offer an opportunity for some expression of those adolescent awakenings which religious education must not ignore.

There are emotional crises in youth which may be very significant. A student told us that as a country boy he became violently opposed to the routine of school. In spite of the protestations of his parents, he was determined to give up attendance. He happened to come upon a copy of *From Log Cabin to White House* and was fascinated with the story of achievement. Why should not he become president of the United States? He realized from the struggles of young Garfield for an education that school must be an element in his ambitious career. He went back to his lessons; worked his way through high school and college; and then, having abandoned his interest in the presidency, went to the university to prepare for the Christian ministry. That boy at thirteen years of age passed through a regeneration experience. It was primarily vocational, but how easily it might have been linked up with the meaning of the church enterprise.

Such awakenings are by no means uncommon, and all of them may have religious quality. Some of them may be conversions—that is, literally, a turning away from conscious wrongdoing with an eager desire to do right. Puberty is a disturbing experience. The sex life is full of subtle suggestions of evil, and young people easily fall into bad habits. Clumsy religious leaders will frighten them, exaggerate the sex dangers, and easily induce morbid experiences. The wisest guidance is necessary in the highest degree to help the young people in this peculiarly difficult realm of conduct. Much earlier sex instruction

is required, but some very clear hygienic and social direction should be arranged at the beginning of adolescence, with the full power of religious motivation, in order to avert the possibility of bad habits and practices or to lead to their abandonment if they have begun. Of course the sense of wrongdoing is not confined to irregularity in the sex life. Inasmuch as the advance in church membership means a definite acceptance of the religious enterprise of righteousness, it will involve in its negative aspects the abandonment of any behavior that hinders the good life. The revivalism technique was seeking to develop this attitude and purpose, but it was hopelessly clumsy and confusing.

The educational technique for developing the experience of church membership will include at least the following elements:

1. A recognition of the advance from junior to full membership as part of the curriculum of the church. There would very properly be a period of preparation in which the meaning of church membership would be studied. A great many pastors' manuals have been prepared for this purpose; but they are almost all theological, ecclesiastical, intellectualistic. They lack that natural analysis of the situation which would give reality to the investigation. *Our Church* by Lobingier is a very satisfactory set of studies designed to enable a class of boys and girls to consider the meaning of the institution in its social setting in their own community. The emphasis is not to be put so much on the doctrines of the church as on its enterprise and its purpose. Doctrinal interest will come appropriately at a later time and will then be very important. But the young people passing from junior mem-

bership are not primarily accepting a creed; they are registering for a campaign.

2. The climax of the study by the juniors of the meaning of the church would be a series of conferences on Christian living, in which the significance of the enterprise of righteousness would be carefully worked out from the ethical and religious experience of the young people themselves. Justice, love, faith, and reverence are not to be accepted as abstractions. The question is how a Christian should act fairly in the social relations in which these boys and girls are living; how the kindly life should be carried on with the people whom they meet; what they can believe that will make them strong, patient, and courageous; what experience of fellowship with God is possible for them, and what it will mean in the motivation of conduct.

The healthy educational process at this period of development is not the great meeting, with its fervent appeals and public testimony, but the simple, practical conference in which behavior is analyzed and its results estimated. These young people are to make an affirmation of Christian discipleship as an outcome of the practice in which they have been educated. They are bringing clearly into view the type of life which the church seeks to promote, and for the promotion of which they are about to accept its membership. The evangelical expectation that this forward step in the religious life should be a profoundly emotional experience is entirely justified. Many churches in their reaction from the emotionalism of the crowd techniques have lost the sense of this great opportunity. Nothing more deeply stirs us than the enthusiastic approval of our group. These young people

have seen the glorious mission of the church presented to them as a goal. They are gladly giving themselves to the enterprise. The sense that they are thus earning the approval of the group and the consciousness that they are securing the divine approval may well be an emotional experience of the deepest significance.

3. Some formal statement on the part of the church of its invitation to the boys and girls to enlist in the enterprise as voluntary, self-directive members. It is not imploring them to seek salvation or exhorting them to flee from the wrath to come. It is not asking them to renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, which is a purely negative estimate of religion. It is fundamentally calling them into the front rank, shoulder to shoulder with the older members, to assume responsibility for the definite purposes for which the church exists.

4. A natural opportunity for accepting this invitation. It is an intensely individual matter, and yet it is properly a group movement. Some fine leadership is needed to keep the balance between these two qualities. For boys and girls to advance to this fuller membership as a matter of course, just because they have reached a certain age, would be very undesirable. The choice on the part of each must be personal and voluntary. But if the preparation has been well conducted, the group will move forward together. If some are unwilling to assume the responsibilities which the religious conference has made plain, it is far better that they should stand aside. If some wish to have further time for consideration, no undue pressure should be brought upon them. If parents are unwilling for their children to take the step, there should be no awkwardness in complying with their wishes.

The children who do not join the group movement should not experience any more embarrassment than properly belongs to their own moral attitude.

Anything in the nature of a public meeting with fervent appeals which puts a stigma upon those who hold back is utterly out of place in the educational process. The adolescent group should be alone with the pastor and the leaders of the church, and an opportunity for simple and natural declaration should be provided. In a technique which we employed, this opportunity was found in connection with a supper given by the deacons of the church to the young candidates.

5. A dramatic reception on the part of the church. Here we have much to learn from the confirmation technique as practiced in the Roman Catholic, the Episcopal, the Lutheran, and the Jewish bodies. The reception of the children into its full membership is one of the high occasions of the church year, and the service is full of a proper dramatic quality which makes it stand out in the youthful experience. In the same way the churches which practice immersion have that highly dramatic act as the climax of the church-membership technique.

There is opportunity for symbolism and pageantry in much larger measure than we have generally accorded them. Each Communion will preserve its own traditional practice; but beyond that the meaning of the church may be dramatically portrayed, the invitation to the youth may be symbolically presented, the reception of the great responsibility may be picturesquely expressed.

We need not be afraid of experiment and invention. However good may be the traditional practices, there is large room for improvement and for heightening their im-

pressiveness; and especially we can express in original pageantry some of those new values which our educational process is seeking to secure.[1]

6. Some definitely increased responsibilities. We are particularly weak at this point. Young people come into the membership of the church, often with high emotional commitment, feeling that they have taken a momentous step; and then they find that they are just where they were before. There should be some clear duties and privileges. We are certainly wanting in educational organization when a lad can say to his father, "There isn't much for a boy to do in the church, is there?" As the church develops its social program and sees more definitely the relation of Christian ideals to political and business life, there will be more for its membership both to learn and to do, including increasing opportunities for the younger people.

It is a question whether boys and girls of twelve or thirteen years of age should be expected to attend the preaching service; the sermon may still be beyond their interest. But as we have already insisted, there are many opportunities of going to church besides listening to a sermon. We must not limit church attendance to any one exercise. The entire Sunday-morning program is the church service. For each group it will be a unity in worship, study, and expression—not more for the adult congregation than for any younger group. Joining the church is not joining the adult congregation. It will be desirable

[1] The writer endeavored to develop a technique involving these elements in connection with a congregation which was very hospitable to educational experiment. An account of the plan is given in Shaver, *The Project Principle in Religious Education* ("A Project of Church Membership"), pp. 236 ff.

from time to time to express the sense of the solidarity of the whole body of those in full membership. Especially this would be effected at the regular celebrations of the Communion. If some special sanctity be given to this observance, it may be an experience of deep religious value to those younger members who do not regularly worship with the adults.

There are many advocates of the desirability that young members of the church should become regular contributors to its budget. They feel that this would definitely ally them with the organization. However, education in money-giving and in the wise allocation of gifts can be far better carried on if the adolescent groups have control of their own finances. If the young people contribute to the general budget, either they have lost this most valuable opportunity or they must make two contributions, which is likely to be difficult. Probably the needs of the situation can be met in the best educational way by each group having its own budget, in which would be included a contribution to the general expenses of the church.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Study several different churches in your community with reference to discovering the status of the children in the minds of the church leaders.

2. Read the confirmation service in the *Book of Common Prayer*. What does this imply as to (*a*) the previous status of the child; (*b*) the spiritual significance of the step that he is taking?

3. Make a similar study of confirmation in the Roman Catholic church.

4. Consult a rabbi as to (*a*) the status of a Jewish child in the religious community; (*b*) the significance of the ceremony of *Bar-mizvah* as it is employed today.

5. Read Luke 2:41–52 and endeavor to estimate the experience of Jesus in this visit to the religious and political capital of his

people, the conference with the rabbis, and the feeling that the temple was his "Father's house."

6. By means of a concordance bring together the passages in the New Testament relating to the religious training of children. Consider whether the explanation in this chapter is satisfactory.

7. Examine the Episcopalian, the Westminster, and the Lutheran catechisms. Estimate their ethical and religious quality. Consider how far they are comprehensible to a thirteen-year-old. Do they meet his moral and religious problems?

8. Examine several manuals designed for preparation for decision day. Consider (*a*) their theological character, (*b*) their ecclesiastical character, (*c*) their relation to the practical problems of young life, and (*d*) the type of religious experience that would probably be developed by their study.

9. Examine similarly *Our Church* by Lobingier.

10. Make a list of all the organizations in the church to which you belong designed for (*a*) the children under twelve; (*b*) the boys and girls from twelve to fourteen. How far do these contribute to a *church* experience? What do you think would be the effect of eliminating the institution of the Sunday school in that particular church and developing church departments?

11. What is the practice in your community with regard to church membership? Are boys and girls invited to "join the church"? If so, what does this imply regarding their previous status? Do any of the children under twelve join the church? How significant does the step seem to be in their experience?

12. Is there any endeavor in your community to discourage children under twelve from joining the church? What effect does this have on their religious experience?

13. What other duties do you feel the church might include in its program, which would multiply the opportunities for service and the places of responsibility?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. What was your own feeling in childhood regarding your relationship to the church? Do you think that some such status as the junior membership discussed in this chapter would have been helpful to you? What do you think it would have meant in your experience?

2. Carefully recall the circumstances of your joining the church. Estimate critically the educational value of the whole process. How do you now see that it might have been improved?

3. Did you have any critical or awakening experiences in early adolescence? If so, did the church program provide for giving them their full significance? Can you now see any way in which it might have been improved?

4. Did you have any undesirable habits or practices in early adolescence? Did you come to any conviction of sin regarding them? What church procedure was helpful to you? Was there any unsatisfactory or clumsy treatment on the part of the church leaders? What does your own experience lead you to feel would be the most helpful way of dealing with this condition?

5. What preparation for church membership did you receive? Endeavor to recall what it meant in your experience? How far was it dogmatic and authoritative? How far was it illuminative of your social problems? Was it vital and interesting?

6. What was the nature of the appeal made to you to join the church? What did it mean to you? Was there any confusion in your mind? Were there any undesirable elements in it as you now see the matter? What were the good qualities in the appeal?

7. Did you ever hold back from joining the church when the appeal was made to you? Why was this? Was it well that you did so? If not, was it caused by untactful leadership?

8. Why did you join the church? How significant was the step in your experience? Was it a deeply emotional experience? Did it motivate your subsequent behavior? If so, in what respects?

9. Was the act quite voluntary on your part? Were you in a group which joined at the same time? If so, how far were you simply acting with the group? Does your experience contribute anything to the suggestion that this can be at once a personal voluntary act and a group movement?

10. Was the ceremonial of reception into the church impressive? If so, in what respects; if not, what was lacking?

11. On the basis solely of your own experience, write a chapter on the psychology of the experience of church membership.

12. On the basis solely of your own experience, write a chapter on the educational procedure desirable in bringing children into church membership.

CHAPTER XIV

WORSHIP AS AN ORGANIZING EXPERIENCE

WORSHIP AS DESIRE FOR RESPONSE

We are surrounded by mystery. Life and death are alike inexplicable. Some mysteries that once troubled men are gone—demons, strange spirits, witches, charms, omens—but reality has grown more mysterious, not less. We are determined to find out all that is possible about ourselves and our world. We examine, analyze, explore: this is the scientific attitude. We gather all our experience together and seek an explanation of the totality of things: this is the philosophical attitude. But we still face the universe with wonder and awe and long for response: this is worship. These are different outlooks, different moods; not incompatible, but different. The scientist says: "What is it and how can I use it?" The philosopher says: "What does it mean?" The worshiper says: "How wonderful it is and will it respond to me?

Vocationally there are scientific and philosophical specialists, and there are religious geniuses. But there is no reason why all of us may not have the scientific method, the philosophic spirit, and the worship attitude. Part of our confusion today arises from the conflict between these three approaches to reality. The scientist, insisting that he is dealing with what can be known, sometimes sneers at philosophic theorizing and religious superstition. The philosopher, convinced that he is studying the meaning

of things, may look upon science as a mere gathering of facts and upon religion as the naïve imagination of the ignorant. Religion often fears science because it seeks to explore all mystery, and holds philosophy to be unspiritual because it will not accept feelings for meanings.

Happily, many of us are learning that the eye cannot say to the hand, "I have no need of thee"; nor the hand to the foot, "I have no need of thee." Science must be our immediate mode of approach to the understanding and exploitation of our world and to the apprehension of our universe. Philosophical interpretation must be on the basis of all ascertained knowledge. Religion will be glad to surrender its mysteries as fast as they can be explained. It is all to the good that we understand thunder and lightning, eclipses and comets, that we are daring to measure the galaxies of universes, that we are learning about human experience and discovering how good and evil emerge in social living; but our larger circle of knowledge has only given us a wider circumference beyond which is still The Great Mystery. We do not even know the flower in the crannied wall. The more we know, the deeper is the mystery. After all, a little universe with a flat earth at the center made up of several elements, with God a few miles up in the sky, and powers of darkness down below, was not nearly such an awesome place to live in as this little planet composed in every particle of millions of centers of force and itself a speck in the vastness of spaces measured by the millions of light-years. More than ever amazing is the question, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?" Aye, there's the rub; is reality mindful of man? That is where some representatives of science and philosophy take us up. They say: "Yes, we will go

with you in the spirit of awe and wonder, for the universe is more marvelous than any of us have dreamed, but drop your anthropomorphisms which you have brought over from a pre-Copernican cosmogony; do not speak of response from the universe, speak only of the reaction from that fraction of the universe upon which you can act." The answer of the worshiper is that he is conscious of the naïveté of his religious expressions; he knows that they are the heritage of an unscientific age; he knows that he has moved far forward from the simple people who were his spiritual forefathers; some of their ways of speech are unreal and even confusing; he uses them because he has not yet learned to make better ones, but he is using them symbolically; nevertheless they are symbols of real meanings; they are expressions of his deepest longings. He feels alone in the big spaces; and as children come homeward at dusk, he wants to come into the light and companionship of The Universal Spirit that responds to his cry: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God." The worshiper cannot feel that so deep a longing, so intense a desire, is unworthy. Humbly and gratefully learning all that science and philosophy can teach him, he finds still in himself the essentially religious attitude; and he is comforted to find beside him great numbers of the scientists and philosophers themselves as fellow-worshipers.

WORSHIP AS A SOCIAL PRODUCT

Worship, like every other human experience, is a social product. It has its roots in the very essence of sociality. Just as we only come to our own selfhood through the social interplay, each knowing himself as he drama-

tizes the attitude of the other toward him, so we come to a sense of the more-than-ourselves by the interfellowship of ourselves. Thus the family is more than the members of the family, more than the dead ancestors added to the living members; there is a kind of "plus," which may be called the spirit of the family. In any real human society the whole is always more than the sum of its parts. So there is the Genius of the tribe. Ames[1] has called attention to this spirit of the college symbolized in Alma Mater, and to the spirit of the nation symbolized in Uncle Sam, and has suggested that this was the way that men achieved their God-concepts. This is not to deny the reality of God behind the symbol, but to recognize the way in which the real God achieved himself in us? The nobler social experiences are divine incarnations.

Is not that the meaning of a remarkable statement in the New Testament, "Where two or three of you are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst"? The fellowship for social ends gives this sense of the added presence; and that is really God. Out of the mystery the Great Companion comes to us when we are united for some social purpose. This is not true of those who are associated for evil because, so far as their enterprise is antisocial, they are not companions but confederates; they do not have the sense of the more-than-themselves, but rather of the less; they are suspicious of one another; they fear betrayal out of their own ranks. To be sure, rogues do sometimes stand by one another and even suffer one for another; so far they are a real society; it is not the evil end that unites them but the genuine comradeship.

[1] "The Validity of the Idea of God," *Journal of Religion*, I, No. 5 (September, 1921), 462 ff.

Psychology ought to beware of assuming that it has fully accounted for an experience when it has discovered its psychical origin. To say that because we can see how the idea of God arose, therefore there is no God except the idea, is pure assumption, for if there were a God, that is how the idea of him would inevitably arise. The God of the great mystery beyond us is also the God of this human mystery of social fellowship. "He that abideth in love abideth in God and God abideth in him."

The sense of the Presence growing out of the religious fellowship had a peculiar character for the early Christians because of the place which Christ held in their devotion. When two or three of them met in his name and talked of their fellowship with God through him, and prayed for grace to be strong and brave, they became aware of that social addition—the spirit of the group—and it was to them the spirit of Christ, the Holy Spirit. It was an experience of fellowship and enablement before it became theologized into the Holy Trinity. Being filled with the spirit was to be utterly *en rapport* with God, and this is always the great climax of worship.

WORSHIP AND SOCIAL DUTY

But what kind of God? In the great prophetic Christian tradition, God is concerned with social righteousness among men. Of course this has come out of the process of social living. It is the emergence of God in the insight of the religious genius who sees in the life about him social meanings unrecognized by common men, who presents these new meanings so that the people can recognize them, and who declares his conviction that these righteousnesses are the demand of God himself. The process in the mind of the prophet seems to be first a

sense of the wonder and glory of God. This is an organizing experience, bringing all life-interests into unity with what would seem to be the will of God. But what can that will be except the best that the prophet himself knows? He is therefore impelled to seek his best, free from self-interest and concerned, inevitably from the very nature of social living, with the welfare of his people. Thus his attitude of worship renders him socially sensitive, and he turns his attention to the human life about him, concerned to find out whether it is according to the will of God. Whatever may be true in other religions, certainly in our religious tradition, in its highest reaches, the worship experience of rapport with deity has as its inevitable concomitant the passion for social righteousness.

It has often been pointed out how psychologically true to the worship experience is the vision of Isaiah (chap. 6).[1] It begins with a sense of the holy,[2] dramatically presented by the burning ones veiling their faces and their persons before the awful sanctity of Jehovah. Immediately this produces in the worshiper the sense of inadequacy—"I and the people with whom I dwell are not good enough for this fellowship." The vision of God is morally quickening. It is something like the consciousness of being in a dignified assembly clothed in unbecoming dress, or being expected to participate in a learned conference for which one is not intellectually equipped. The sense of moral inadequacy is of course far deeper than this; it

[1] Von Ogden Vogt (*Art and Religion*, chap. xv) and Sperry (*Reality in Worship*, chap. xiv) both find in this passage the psychology of the order of worship.

[2] Otto's idea of the holy is well illustrated here.

is the shame of the impure in the presence of purity. Here is the typical strain of religious experience. But the sanctity of Jehovah is not a mere awful aloofness: it is always a revelation of moral possibilities and a summons to achieve them. The seraph touches the lips of the penitent worshiper and proclaims the absolution. The tension is relieved; fellowship is established; a great peace results. But the experience does not remain as an ecstasy of relaxation, the rapport with God. It becomes immediately an organizing experience bringing up into itself the great life-interests: If I am thus at one with God, what is the resultant behavior in my life with men? In the Isaianic vision it is strikingly presented as a vocational sensitiveness. The purified worshiper is able to hear the call, "Whom shall I send and who will go for us?" The experience completes itself in the enlistment for service, "Here am I, send me."

The great passage in Micah (6:1–8) which George Adam Smith has called the climax of the Old Testament approaches the problem from a different point of view, but the result is the same. Again the psychology of the religious experience is profoundly true. The literary form is that of the dramatic dialogue. Jehovah presents his case, his care and goodness to his people through all the years; why then will they not serve him? The penitent people want to know what they shall do. Here again is the typical religious tension—what shall they do? how great must be the sacrifices? is even the awful immolation of the first-born necessary? Then follows the sublime answer, relieving the strain in the simple program of social living—justice, kindness, reverent fellowship with God. Note the organizing experience here, life com-

pletely unified in these social relations with men and with God.

In the great experience of Jesus at the baptism and temptation, the same principles are evident. The condition of tension does not appear at first, for there is a happy fellowship with God evidently undisturbed by any sense of inadequacy. Jesus' social life at Nazareth, of which the Sermon on the Mount is probably a kind of autobiographical reminiscence, was so satisfactorily a triumph of love that the organization of experience in the will of God was happily effected. The baptism is of the nature of the ecstasy of worship. God is about to bring to men the blessed goodness for which they have longed, and is calling for volunteers for the enterprise; Jesus has offered himself; the baptism is the act in which the commitment expresses itself, yielding an exultant sense of devotion and rapport fittingly expressed in the phrase, reminiscent of the psalms, "Thou art my beloved son in whom I am well pleased." But how is the devotion to be practically carried out? What means are to be employed and what principles are to be regulative? In the face of popular expectations of what a Messiah was supposed to do, how was Jesus to carry out his own spiritual mission? This caused the tension dramatically presented in the parables of the temptation. The supreme worship experience of the baptism became an organizing experience in the temptation. How completely satisfactory was the outcome, and how utter the relaxation, is revealed in the expression, "The devil departed from him for a season." An examination of the transfiguration and Gethsemane experiences would yield similar results.

These biblical experiences have been discussed in some

detail because they are representative of the tradition out of which our own religion has come, revealing therefore the way in which our own God-concept has developed, and because they exhibit so clearly the true nature of the worship experience. When worship is at its best, the Great Mystery becomes responsive instead of oppressive, giving to all our tangled, confused, troubled human life an adequate meaning, setting things in their proportion, uniting us with what seems to be the great ongoing Good Will. The tension relaxes; a blessed peace succeeds; fears depart; hatreds fade away; love becomes natural; duty becomes joy. It is not the relaxation of rest, but of energy without friction, of doing our best without having to fight with ourselves.

INADEQUATE TYPES OF WORSHIP

Manifestly a great deal that has been called worship is not of this exalted character, and it will be necessary to consider the causes that hinder the experience from reaching its fulfilment. For our practical purpose we may confine ourselves to our own religious tradition, although, *mutatis mutandis*, the same conditions would be discovered in all the great human worship experiences.

ESCAPE FROM UNFRIENDLY NATURE

There is a very genuine type of worship that has its origin in personal human need. Pain, sickness, trouble, bereavement cause us to seek help beyond ourselves. We feel the harshness of life so keenly that we can only cry out for some sort of understanding and sympathy and, if possible, for relief. Our biblical tradition presents a divine Providence tenderly considerate of human trou-

bles. "The promises of Scripture" are marked off for encouragement and comfort. Prayer has been much concerned with petition for healing and for physical help. One great emphasis upon a happy state after death has grown out of the reaction from this troubled life. "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes" has been a hope that has heartened the sad in their distress.

The organizing nature of this type of worship is genuine, but it may be limited. It does bring order out of the tangled, painful experiences. Sometimes health itself returns and the disorganization of sickness is ended. Sometimes the sense of a great Good Will, knowing better than we can know, relieves the tension, makes it possible to endure the pain, and organizes the experiences that have to do with the conflict situation so that peace results. Sometimes the simple postponement of the resolution of difficulties to a future life relaxes the strain and yields a sense of ultimate well-being.

The limitation of the organizing experience of worship in these cases is twofold. In the first place, its somewhat naïve view of providence excludes consideration of the harsher aspects of physical life, often indeed precluding a scientific attitude altogether; in the second place, it may simply resolve the immediate conflict situation without leading the worshiper into relation with his whole natural environment.[1] Children's prayers in trouble and

[1] It is far from our intention to suggest that worship in the sickness experience is necessarily limited in its organizing character. This is only the case where the self-interest narrows the outlook of the sufferer. Strangely, at the very moment of writing the above paragraph, word has come of the death of a woman whose triumphant acceptance of the inevitable made her sickroom a place of vision for all who visited her. She wanted all the scientific information which she could gain; she recog-

in difficulty generally have this character, calling for very careful guidance lest the failure to secure results may develop skepticism, or the attempt to organize life on the basis of supernatural interventions may interfere with the experience of the orderliness of nature.

The religious education of children is embarrassed by the fact that much of the Bible, of theology, and of hymnody suggests that everything is happening for the best and that the attitude of faith is simply that of submissive acceptance. This is not a view which we desire to present to our children, for it will not accord with their developing experience. They must gradually become accustomed to the serious conditions in which our struggling humanity is living, achieving the great religious faith that the Divine Friend is with us sympathetic and helpful. When they ask their eager questions regarding how much God can do and will do to help us, we can give to them the very important religious instruction that we do not know. They must early learn how little man knows, how much he hopes, how ardently he believes.

The blessed significance of this type of worship is evident when the funeral service of one who has richly lived and nobly died gives expression to the hope and faith that we live in a universe that will not waste the best that it has ever produced. The worship of him who is the God, not of the dead but of the living, is an or-

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nized the physical conditions of human life; she sought the wisest words that could be said about survival after death; she prayed for strength and for insight. Besides all this she arranged her last months of life so as not unduly to burden her friends, and kept up her interest in all the social enterprises which had always received her attention. She was a worshiper, and the experience organized life for her in a remarkable degree.

ganizing experience of the highest quality when, in the presence of that apparently irrevocable defeat of the human spirit, there is revealed the function of death in the scheme of eternal life, so that the defeat is even changed into victory. Worship will have more meaning in death if we give it a larger organizing significance in life.

Children's worship programs will contain very much of praise for the beauty and glory of life and some appeal for courage and patience through the shadows and the gloom. The latter should not have undue place; but it should have its occasional moments, for quite young children may come into a simple feeling of the solemnity of life.

Boys and girls will be saved from the inadequacy of building a religious faith on the hope of escape from pain by a development of the worship which organizes experience in the concept of the enterprise of righteousness. If God is concerned that we ourselves shall undertake the alleviation of pain and the removal of physical evil, we shall not expect to escape miraculously from the ills that are the lot of man. We shall seek divine strength to be able to play our part and bravely to meet whatever comes without complaint. The adolescent will develop predominantly a religion of joy and expectation of victory but will look farther than the child into the world's sorrow. His worship will sometimes bring him to that deep seriousness in the presence of human frailty that is essential for the fulness of life.

ESCAPE FROM UNFRIENDLY SOCIETY

Another type of genuine worship which yet fails to lift all of life's interests into a great unity is that which

grows out of the bitterness of oppression, harshness, or poverty. The wretchedness of the circumstances conditions the response that is sought by the worshiper. He is looking for an avenger of his wrongs, for a deliverer from his slavery, for a king who will recompense him with treasure. This type of worship is very manifest in the Psalms, which were produced during the period of Jewish humiliation when the foreign tyrant and the domestic oppressor made life bitter for "the meek." More than half the Psalms refer to "the enemy." The imprecatory Psalms are those in which the passion of the poet leads him to cry out for vengeance upon the brutal tyrants who are destroying the innocent. It is not necessarily an unworthy attitude. When we come upon some flagrant instance of human beasts devouring the innocent, we can understand how a religious man could pray, "O Lord, break their teeth," i.e., destroy their power to do evil. The apocalyptic messianism of Jesus' day, a modification of which is presented in the Book of Revelation, was the ardent expectation that God would send his deliverer to destroy the wicked powers of earth and to save his own people. It becomes the cry of the martyrs, "O Lord, how long?"

These are organizing experiences in that they reconcile the confused meanings of the world and enable the worshiper to see that he is living in a period of temporary trouble, which will soon give place to happiness and peace. But as they minimize the trouble of the present, so do they minimize the significance of the present—nothing matters, for the Lord is coming. Such was very often the religion of the American Negro in the days of slavery, and to no small extent today, as he still feels that

his deliverance is yet to come. It would be a perfectly natural attitude for children growing up in a group where the pitiful hope of deliverance was uppermost in the minds of the elders.

Of the same nature is the worship experience of those wretched poor for whom this present world has little promise. They look beyond for the satisfactions which are denied them here.

> My Father is rich in houses and lands.
> He holdeth the wealth of the world in his hands.
> Of rubies and diamonds, of silver and gold,
> His coffers are full, he has riches untold.
> I'm the child of a king.

What does it matter to the king's child if he must wait for a little while in rags and hunger? But again, not only the wretchedness does not matter, but nothing during this interim matters very much. Not the whole of life, therefore, is organized, for it is not worth organizing; we wait until real living begins by and by.

The great influence of the Bible, the periods of stress through which the church has passed, the miseries of poverty and oppression, have all tended to give this aspect to Christian worship in a marked degree. Our hymnody is so largely dominated by it that it is difficult to find more than a few good hymns which express the hopes and aspirations of life in this world. The conception of the earthly existence as a probation anticipatory of heaven runs through a large body of our hymns. Even when the dominant motive is a longing for moral strength and courage or for the fellowship of God, we generally die in the last verse, for the poet feels the necessity of running the

gamut of human experience. The revolt against "other-worldliness" is the healthy objection to the subordination of the social values of the world in which we live to the unknown perfections of the world that is yet to come.

How far may the worship of the young include this sense of the other world with its great compensatory significance, without losing the supreme value of living efficiently in the present? There can be no doubt that the heaven motif is used altogether too frequently and too lightly in many of the programs of youthful worship. When it is used, it should be with the most vital meaning. The hymn quoted above is absolutely out of place in the mouths of children. The last thing that we want them to think of is a kind of wealthy God who can abundantly endow his children.

There is an altogether wholesome faith in the future life with which children and youth may round out their social conception of the enterprise of righteousness. God's great work for us and with us is going on beyond what we can see. The friends who leave us are still partakers in the enterprise. Again, we shall not very much attempt to answer their eager questions. We shall teach them that the figures of Scripture regarding the beyond are but symbols. We do not know very much; we only hope and believe. Such hope and faith should have adequate place in the worship programs of the young. Not very often, not bulking very large, never morbid and never cheap; always something very wonderful and very beautiful, taking the harshness out of death, and giving promise of larger meanings beyond the confusions and limitations of the life that now is.

ECSTATIC

Worship may be inadequate just because it is incomplete. We noted that a marked characteristic of the experience is the relaxation of tension, the sense that all is well, sometimes the ecstasy of the rapport of the soul with God. This is the mystical experience; but with the great mystics the experience does not stop there. It goes on, as in the Isaianic vision, as in the ministry of Jesus, into genuine human service. The Dutch mystic Tersteegan, who spent his life in beautiful charities but whose soul was set upon the beatific vision, explained naïvely, "I wanted to be with the Father, but he sent me to be with his children." With the lesser mystics, not less in ecstatic experience but in their spiritual quality, the rapture is an end in itself. They want to enjoy God. They are too good for common work, too near the divine for human relations. Worship, then, is not an organizing experience but a withdrawing experience. It does not gather up all life into itself and give meaning to the humbler things; it disdains all human interests as inferior to the supreme practices of devotion. It was in healthy objection to this that the monkish rule *laborare est orare* was established. Nothing could be more stupid than to take this great dictum literally. Work is not worship, and never could be. What the rule meant was that those only can be acceptable worshipers who work as well as pray.

We fall into this inadequacy of worship whenever we seek to stimulate religious emotion simply for its own sake. Conversion experiences, which exhaust themselves in the process of becoming saved; retreats for the deepening of the spiritual life, when that word "spiritual" has no social connotation; prayer for holiness, when there is no

attempt to find out what holiness involves in ways of practical life—all these are the substitution of a certain luxury of emotion for the organization of life.

It may seem that our present youth programs are so far removed from this spiritual danger that it is altogether unnecessary to discuss it. Boy Scouts, Tuxis groups, young people's clubs, do not seem to be much concerned with mystic experiences. Indeed, the question is fairly raised whether we have not so developed programs of activity that meditation, introspection, have little place, and anything like the Quaker's "descent into the silence" is quite impossible.

But the mystic experience is so attractive that there is constant endeavor to recover the technique for its achievement. Some young people's rituals are distinctly mystical. One program for boy life includes as a requirement for promotion from one stage to another that the candidate shall pass the night by the camp fire in lonely vigil. The Galahad Movement requires the night of vigil in the church. There is report of great values coming from this practice. We suggest that some plan of meditation, involving some comprehensive duty, some outlook on vocation, some enlistment in human service, should be furnished to these youth, in order that the experience may be a real organization of life's meanings. It would be quite possible that the romance of the vigil should involve merely the glamor of the association of knighthood and should be its own satisfaction as an emotional rapture.

The Communion service offers opportunities for the achievement of the sense of rapport. Under strong suggestion, boys and girls and young people are often powerfully moved in this solemn ceremonial. Such experiences

have a legitimate and important place in religious education, but they must not be merely feelings of solemnity, of relaxation, of uplift; they must always be feelings that goodness is so good that we are to live with it and for it. Worship is not pleasure, but insight.

ESCAPE FROM SOCIAL PERPLEXITY

A very common form of inadequate worship is that which has its basis in the endeavor to escape from social perplexity. Real worship seeks the solution of the perplexity,

> Search me, O God, and know my heart:
> Try me, and know my thoughts;
> And see if there be any wicked way in me,
> And lead me in the way everlasting.

But there are phases of life that are too difficult to be presented to the Lord; they must be left to the operation of their own laws. Happily, we can escape from such confusion into the experience of worship where we can pray about things that are not too difficult. The writer has elsewhere[1] offered two illustrations of this practice which may be repeated here:

Sir John Bowring was governor of Hongkong and as such was largely responsible for the opium war with China, certainly one of the most wicked acts in British history. Yet he was a devoted churchman and a writer of some very beautiful and inspiring Christian hymns. Macaulay gives us an account of the Earl of Rochester making use of a woman of evil life to influence the king in an important political matter, and that same evening

[1] "Worship as Insight," *Weekday Sermons in King's Chapel*, pp. 108 ff.

writing in his diary a noble outpouring of soul to God. It has been common to dismiss such double conduct as hypocrisy; but that is a confused psychology. Rochester would have been a hypocrite if he had pretended to be religious in his diary, expecting that someone would read it and would confide in him for his supposed piety. But the diary was private and was not discovered until long after the earl's death.

What really happened in the experience of these men was that they excluded from the organizing influences of worship those aspects of life in which a genuine socialization was very difficult. The governor was concerned with British imperial interests, which must be carried on according to the conditions of practical diplomacy. The earl wanted the king to act wisely in a significant matter of state, but the king was a fool who could only be influenced through his prejudices or his passions. These good men did the dirty work of life in the way in which they felt it must be done; then they washed their hands and sought the fellowship of God. Worship was not a cloak; but it was an escape.

This has ever been the danger of worship. Life is so difficult to unify on the highest levels that we make up for our unsocial conduct with endeavors to secure personal response out of the unseen, coupled with social conduct within those spheres in which it is not too difficult. That is why worship has resulted so much more in charity than in justice; that is why Christian men are so much more often good husbands and friends than good employers and workers. In an earlier chapter we discussed this failure of the integration of personality as the result of the conflicting mores of different groups, so that a man

will change his morals as he changes his group. What happens in the case of the worshiper whom we are here discussing is that he allows his worship to become an organizing experience within those groups in which the social conflicts are resolvable, and in no others. Genuinely seeking a higher life, he finds it in the exercises of worship and in the organizing experience within those spheres in which he has allowed it to operate. He escapes into this higher life from the lower levels where business and politics have to be carried on.

Young people are quite as susceptible as adults to this form of self-deception. Are the members of a church less likely to cheat in school than those who do not worship? Does religion have any more effect on the purification of school politics and on the honesty of elections than on those in the larger society? Young people, like their elders, find it very difficult to organize all of life under its highest standards. But they are religious: they do feel the value of fellowship with God, and they do try to do right in many spheres with a genuine feeling that they are doing God's will. We must develop our worship program so as to include the more difficult areas of duty in the religious socialization of life. We must develop techniques by which it is less and less possible to escape from social obligation into any ark of spiritual safety. The opportunity of worship for the religious motivation of conduct is unparalleled, if we can discover satisfactory types of program for the groups whom we are seeking to lead.

This condition is most likely to be met as the young people organize their own worship programs. A careful consideration of the relation of worship to life would involve just this inclusion of the more difficult areas of duty.

This is a point where very significant experimentation ought to be set on foot. We have thought that we must give to young people the traditional materials of worship. If we help them to feel the place of worship in life, they will evaluate the traditional materials and will use only those which genuinely express their experience.

We are most naturally led into the attitude of worship when we share the experience of those great souls who have struggled to realize ideals, and in that struggle have sought the support of the Spirit of Life that is ever moving forward in righteousness. How often they achieved the integration of personality through the very struggles that endangered it! Worship was the accompaniment of the struggle, in which they sought, not an escape from difficulty, but a resolution of conflict. Hence the place of biography, including that of the Bible, in the development of worship.

AESTHETIC

There remains to consider that inadequate type of worship in which the aesthetic enjoyment is the dominant experience. The joy of worship and the feeling of beauty have much in common, but they are not identical. Worship tends to express itself in beautiful forms; indeed, it is never the highest worship until it is beautiful. Thus architecture, music, poetry, drama, painting, have all lent themselves to the expression of the worship attitude. The religious stimulus of a noble cathedral, glorious music, an exquisite hymn, a beautiful prayer, an eloquent (if we can escape the tawdry suggestions of the word) sermon, a splendid pageant, a lovely picture, is known to us all; while the difficulty of achieving the religious mood

in ugly surroundings is not less certain. A lady of fine taste said, "I cannot worship in a golden oak church."

But the beauty may be sufficiently satisfying in itself. Browning, with rare insight, has drawn the picture of the luxurious bishop, ordering his tomb with the precision of a connoisseur, sensitive as to the latinity of the inscription, chuckling vindictively over the discomfiture of his rival, and enjoying the memory of his handsome mistress. And have we not in our own time seen the terrible conjunction of a master of ecclesiastical art and a degraded sensualist in the same person? That is why worship must never be simply the enjoyment of beauty. There must be the urge and goad of social duty. Isaiah was not entranced with the beauty of the seraphic song. The Trisagion, not independent of its beauty, of course, but through its beauty, stirred his soul to long for holiness. The holiness of beauty must not be substituted for the beauty of holiness. They belong inextricably together.

Children's worship has generally lacked aesthetic quality. We have been concerned that the adults should have every circumstance of beauty, symbolism, and association, calculated to induce moods of reverence, contemplation, and aspiration; but for the most part we have provided for children and young people mere schoolrooms or assembly halls.

The ritualistic churches have shown far more understanding in this matter than those which practice spontaneous worship. They have recognized that the attitudes which they seek for adults must be developed in childhood. Some interesting experiments are being made in the effect of beauty upon the religious attitudes of young people. Many modern church "plants" are including a place of worship instead of an assembly room.

In the exquisite little sanctuary chapel of the Chicago Theological Seminary, which is open every day for meditation and prayer, quite young children frequently enter and sit for a time in perfect quietness.

The danger of making religion an emotional luxury is particularly present where great beauty of form and color and sound delight the senses. Children and young people are very susceptible under careful guidance to these sensuous stimuli. We are seeking in our education to lure them from response to the grosser stimuli of high colors and loud noise to the finer responses to real beauty. It is the function of religion to associate the more exquisite expressions of beauty with noble conduct, tender sympathy, eager interest in human service, and a sense of God as the leader in the social enterprise. If we can keep this aspect of religion foremost, there are no refinements of beauty which we may not utilize in our educational procedure.

We have considered these inadequacies of worship at some length because they are the guides to religious education in worship. It is perhaps the most difficult phase of our educational task, for we are seeking to secure attitudes at once illusive and difficult to identify. At the same time it may well be that it is the most fundamental aspect of our task. Religion centers in the worship attitude. If, in our great interest in social living, we lose the capacity to reach out to the Eternal that is more than man, we shall find that our children, cut off from the great tradition of piety, will either become satisfied with a mechanistic theory of life—a not very hopeful basis for social idealism—or they will revert to those more primitive methods of contact with the unseen, which are ever

reappearing in the faith cults and the miracle mongerings of religious fanaticism.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Examine several manuals of worship including the *Book of Common Prayer*, the *Book of Common Worship*, the *Methodist Manual*, and consider (*a*) what are the objects of prayer, (*b*) what is the experience sought in prayer, (*c*) how far would these tend to be organizing experiences to the worshiper. If a class is making this study, the manuals might be examined by various committees.

2. Make a similar study of several hymn books: (*a*) Out of what moods and needs do the hymns arise? (*b*) How far would the experience developed by an earnest use of the hymns tend toward an organization of life?

3. From the type of worship indicated in these manuals and hymn books consider what the worshiper would gain as to (*a*) a conception of God, (*b*) the unity and wholeness of life, (*c*) the joy and glory of living, (*d*) faith that the human enterprise is worth carrying forward, (*e*) the meaning of accident, disaster, and pain, (*f*) the meaning of death.

4. From the foregoing studies does the future life seem to be the completion and validation of earthly activity or a refuge from the unsatisfactoriness of this life? In what sense is each of these an organizing experience?

5. Examine Psalms 3, 8, 15, 19, 23, 32, 46, 67, 90, 91, and 100. Consider with regard to each (*a*) the mood of the lyric, (*b*) the conception of life and of religion which it implies, (*c*) the degree to which the psalmist is organizing his experience in this expression.

6. When men insist that they want the preacher to be concerned only with the simple gospel and not to obtrude into the worship political, economic, and social questions, what possibility is there that they do not want worship to be a completely organizing experience? In that case are they hypocrites, or how would you explain their attitude?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. What significance does the expression "The Great Mystery" have for you? Does it accord with anything fundamental in your experience, or does it seem to be merely a phrase?

2. How far has your own religious experience been a longing for response from The Great Mystery?

3. Have you had any experience of such response? If so, endeavor to analyze it.

4. Does the discussion in the chapter regarding the experience of religious strain, the resolution of conflict, and the relaxation and resultant peace mean anything to you as an interpretation of your own experience? Be very frank with yourself and do not feel under any necessity to find an affirmative answer.

5. Have you ever been a member of any group where the sense of fellowship seemed to have something of the mysterious quality of a Presence? Analyze this carefully.

6. Did you have any early experience of praying for material advantages and seeking supernatural escape from difficulties? How far was this an adequate organization of life's meanings?

7. Have you had any experience of excluding difficult subjects from the organizing effects of worship? What has this meant in your religious development?

8. Have you ever had any rapturous or ecstatic religious experience? What do you estimate to have been its value in your religious development? Did it have any of the safeguards suggested in our discussion? Do these seem to you to be necessary?

9. Include a brief treatment of mysticism based solely on your own experience. Consider carefully at different periods of your life whether there were any times when the experience of oneness with the Infinite was real. Try to determine the conditions which produced this and the results, if any, in conduct and social attitude. Does this suggest to you any principles or methods in the religious education of children and youth?

10. What contacts have you had with religious art in any of its phases? Estimate the significance of these in your experience. Have you any consciousness of the lack of beauty in the worship of your childhood and youth? How might this have been supplied? Does your own experience and observation lead you to see any danger of the substitution of aesthetic appreciation for spiritual insight?

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION IN WORSHIP

We have endeavored to show that worship as an organizing experience is that contact with the Eternal which brings all the elements of human life into meaning and proportion. In its simplest form it is the expression of utter confidence, "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want"; in its profoundest expression it is the reverent submission of Job before the mystery of Providence, or the sublime acceptance of Jesus, "Thy will, not mine, be done."

Education in worship is such direction of religious experience of children and youth as will lead them to familiarity with the appropriate forms in which they may find adequate expression of the religious meaning of life as it comes to them, and through the use of which the sense of that meaning may be stimulated.

Worship, especially when individual and of the pietistic type, is naturally occasional and spontaneous. But both private and public devotion tend to establish convenient times and seasons. In our own practice there is morning and evening prayer, grace before meals, the Sunday-evening song and other religious exercises of the family, and particularly the programs of church worship.

FAMILY WORSHIP

All that has been said in our earlier chapters regarding religion as a group habit is significant in this consideration of worship, which is the most characteristic function

of the religious group. Family religion has had a large place in the history of the race; it is only in our modern day that it is being crowded out and relegated to the church as the religious institution. Evangelical Protestantism has some responsibility for this change and loss. With the elimination of rituals and the substitution of extemporaneous prayer, family devotion tended to become an expression of adult piety, often tedious and lengthy. Children in the old days of parental authority endured it; in these days it is almost impossible.

We need a rediscovery of family worship. Perhaps in our crowded life we cannot expect to get the household together after breakfast. Perhaps we cannot make worship a daily occurrence. More important is it that the religious solidarity of the family shall find occasional and satisfying expression. Singing together on Sunday evening, adding the glow of religious observance to the birthday festivals of the family, using the opportunities of the great days of the church year for some family devotions, listening to noble religious music on the phonograph or radio, studying together the worship elements that are to be used in church—these are some of the ways in which the family consciousness of religious observance can be developed. It is of the greatest possible value for children to have an association of religious expression with the home life, as giving a glow and beauty to its common ways, and as accentuating the high experiences of its more significant occasions.

CHURCH WORSHIP

As we have more than once indicated, the church should be both the religious community of old and young

together and the collection of departmental groups, organized according to age and special interest. We need both graded worship and the big family worship of the whole church. We have so far been more successful in the development of departmental worship, but some very interesting experiments are being tried in the inclusion of the children in a portion of the public worship.

The principal element in this is often a talk by the minister to the children, after which they withdraw. The plan has the advantage of enabling the young folk to feel themselves a corporate part of the church without requiring them to listen to a service unadapted to them. It has the disadvantage of interrupting the public worship, sometimes involving the reseating of part of the congregation. In one of the most satisfactory experiments of this type the children sit with their parents during the opening worship and then quietly walk out at an appropriate time. If any desire to remain, they can easily do so. The transition from partial to full attendance is thus happily made.

It may be objected: What of the good old-fashioned practice of requiring children to attend the church service? Does this not develop the habit of church attendance? It may or it may not. Habits are formed by reiterated action only when that action is satisfying. What may develop is the habit of church attendance under compulsion, which means no attendance when the compulsion is removed. Or the habit of dislike of church may be formed.

In general, it should be recognized that there are some elements in public worship in which children can participate with satisfaction, while there are others quite out-

side their interest. Among the former are simple liturgical forms, including many prayers and hymns, particularly such forms as are used by the congregation from memory. The Doxology, the Lord's Prayer, the Gloria Patri, confessional and thanksgiving prayers, collects for special occasions, and many other elements may be explained to children, may be memorized, and used in the general congregation. Moreover, much of the devotional and narrative material of the Bible can be appreciated by the young. But prayers and hymns growing out of deeper experiences, the more profound passages of Scripture, most of the church anthems, and generally the sermon, will not be suited to young people below high-school age. And they should not be subjected to them. It is folly to talk of the educational value of learning to keep still while things that we do not understand are going on. Adults would regard such requirement as tyranny. Nothing is so likely to destroy the freedom and joy of worship.

There doubtless are simple conditions, especially in the country, where the church building has only a single room and the whole family must come and go together, in which the children must be present at the adult worship. Then let the worship be on the children's level. There will be more reverence, more happy participation, more completely shared experience, if the adults agree to worship with the children than if the adults require the children to sit still during a worship unsuited to their experience. There is so much that is universal in the emotional expression of religion—far more than in its intellectual expression—that such a unified program may be very satisfactorily carried on. The adults must find some other expression for their more mature experiences. It

must not be forgotten that very able ministers frequently find the services which they have prepared for the children meeting the needs of many of the adults who have been somewhat lost in the programs prepared especially for them.

THE JUNIOR CONGREGATION

While participation of the children with the adults is desirable, there should be large provision for them to worship by themselves. The increasing use of the terms "junior church" and "junior congregation" indicate the development of the church idea as applied to children.

We have some question whether the imitation of the adult congregation is advisable. Some churches have junior trustees, deacons, vestry, session, or what not. The play element in this imitation process might detract from its reality. Why not let the young folk develop their own worship and functional organization. The end to be sought is that they shall be genuine worshipers, learning to bring all life into unity in the fellowship of God. If there is any place where a project is called for, it would be here. The young folk are to find out what elements and exercises they can make use of in order to bring them into the mood and attitude which they have decided to be desirable. The most skilful leadership will be necessary, but the most definite pupil initiative is to be encouraged.

ELEMENTS OF WORSHIP

SONG

Worship and the forms of worship are not the same thing, but they are closely connected. Here, as everywhere else, we learn by doing; we become worshipers by

practicing the forms in which our group expresses its religion. The primitive Christian communities, inspired by common faith and hope, naturally met together to talk about their experience and to encourage one another. Deep feeling very easily expresses itself in song, and these people had in their hands the great song book, The Praises of Israel, which had been developed for the temple choirs and which had been used in the synagogues. The Psalms, breathing gratitude, adoration, hope, longing for deliverance, peace in the divine fellowship, stimulated like emotions in the Christian group. Paul, knowing how people longed for something thrilling to vary the drab monotony of life and knowing that wine is the easy way to secure such stimulus, urged his disciples not to get drunk but to have a good sing.[1] The early Methodist societies very often made this exchange of intoxications; while rescue missions today rely very much on the hearty singing of colorful hymns to give to their converts the release for which they have been accustomed to resort to drink. It must be confessed that there is nothing approaching intoxication in the feeble congregational singing of most of our churches. A critic of the church, who had grown up in unsatisfying religious conditions, said that it seemed to him silly for a lot of grown people to stand up and sing hymns; noble music to which he could listen appealed to him strongly, but he had not the slightest interest in participation.

That raises a reasonable question: Why should we sing; what good does it do? Very few of us sing well; why then should we perpetuate this religious custom? Two instances of the use of public song in modern life are

[1] Eph. 5:18 f.

at least suggestive. During the war we developed the community sing, with a marked result in breaking down the barriers between people, developing the sense of comradeship, cementing us in the common task. When the songs were simply nonsensical, the physical act of singing acted as a release; when certain stimulating symbols occurred, the feeling of the national enterprise was deepened; when there was any suggestion of the sacrifice involved, a profound sympathy united us. In the recent organizations of business men—Rotary, Kiwanis, and the like—song is used to release the tensions, to break down the inhibitions that keep a man aloof from his neighbor, to promote conversation, jocularity, and good fellowship. It is the same technique that Paul suggested—song takes the place of wine. These luncheon songs are generally nonsensical, sometimes sentimental, but they serve to give the expansive feeling of sociality.

Revival meetings make much use of the technique of religious song. Very simple melodies are used, while the lyrics are built up on the great religious words "grace," "peace," "salvation," "joy," and the striking images of the cross, the crown, the throne, the river of death. Great insistence is made that everybody shall sing, often with repetitions of stimulating refrains, antiphonal singing from different parts of the house, etc. Half an hour of such expansive effort, and concentration upon the symbols of religious faith, produces a marked relaxation in the congregation, melts the divergent members into a unity, and prepares the way for the direction of the tide of emotion into the channel which the speaker may desire and to that organization of experience which he wishes to effect.

Is it not time that this significant form of social expression should have more educational direction? We do not want the vulgarity of the revivalist leader, with cheap jokes about the women beating the men and the gallery lifting the roof. We do not want the silly songs that scarcely differ from the frank nonsense of the popular luncheons. We do not want to concentrate attention upon heaven, and glory, and stars in our crown. But we certainly do want something different from the listless and perfunctory song of the ordinary congregation.

We have a noble hymnody of praise and spiritual longing. If the intellectual people who are accustomed to go to church on Sunday morning, submitting to the ritual with a mildly satisfying sense that they have done a religious duty, would learn the words and music of a great song, would stand up and open their lungs, and sing it out, instead of burying their heads in a book and mumbling, they would get some of that release of tension, that sense of exaltation, that buoyancy of life, which our jaded, sophisticated age greatly needs. Helping us to feel the religious significance of life, it would be a vital organizing experience.

In the choice of hymns it is especially important to bear in mind that only the song, both words and music, which came out of a worship experience will be able to induce such an experience. A hymn is not manufactured for the market; it is the creation of a soul who has held communion with God.

Children are naturally singers. They pick up song anywhere. They enter into any experience of song that is afforded them. Here, then, is the opportunity of education as the direction of experience. Let us help them to

sing what will be satisfying at once, and increasingly satisfying as they go on singing through their lives.

The school is doing much and it ought to do a great deal more in musical education. The joy of song should have a large place in the lives of children. Augustine Smith insists that all children can be trained to sing even difficult music. It is only necessary to see them under his inspiring leadership to realize how they love the self-expression that beautiful music affords.

The church is sadly careless of this educational opportunity. Spending thousands of dollars upon costly choirs to sing instead of the congregation, it makes generally no provision for training its children in this form of religious expression, most natural to them and most delightful. Incompetent leaders and poor accompanists direct the laggard singing of the Sunday school, so that religion becomes associated in the child's mind with insipid and unsatisfactory performance. Or else, in an endeavor to make it "peppy," the music of religion becomes rude and boisterous.

Education in hymnody will begin with the children's joyous hymns, expressive of the religious feelings of love, gratitude, and praise. It will progressively include the simpler church hymns, which will enable the children to have fellowship in song with their parents and with the adult congregation. They will gradually achieve a little repertoire of good songs which have been studied, appreciated in language and imagery, learned in words and music. If we can ever keep this practice going for a generation, until we have a church congregation thoroughly familiar with fifty or sixty great religious lyrics, we shall start a new era of worship.

We have already discussed the sifting process that

must take place in the use of our great English hymnody. We have a glorious wealth of song concerned with the birth, the passion, and the resurrection of Christ. We shall use this seasonally with the recognition that some of the imagery is symbolic. There is a great body of hymns whose motif is the propitiatory atonement. We shall use these very sparingly, and many of them will doubtless disappear. "Rock of Ages," by some considered the best hymn in the language, contains most prominently ideas that we cannot give to children.

There is an undue emphasis upon heaven in our hymns. Perhaps we shall edit these, sometimes omitting the last verse. "Nearer My God to Thee" is greatly improved by the omission of the fifth stanza. We shall sing of heaven when we really desire that great hope to be the object of our longing, but we shall not lightly use such hymns when contemplation of the future life is not our mood.

The missionary enterprise has given us some very fine hymns, a few of which are also adaptable to the larger social outlook of our time. Unfortunately, some are marred by that conception of the "heathen" which we have quite discarded in our modern missionary literature and education. "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" must probably take its place in the history of hymnology.

We are gradually developing a hymnody of social passion. Too many writers, however, who are seeking to write social hymns are succeeding only in producing sociological rhymes. Uttermost bathos is in the songbook of a Socialist Sunday school, where a ghastly attempt has been made to put the eight-hour day and collective bargaining into lyric verse.

There is room for a graded hymnody of the enterprise

of righteousness and love. Many good songs have been written for children, and a few for boys and girls. If we can develop a beautiful symbolism and a glowing passion in these songs, we shall emotionalize our Christian enterprise and bring our young people into joyous enlistment.

PRAYER

The early Christian communities were companies of people who prayed. That is the central act of worship. Utterly insignificant when perfunctory, it is the deepest expression of life's meaning when real. The ancient prophet was seeking to express this truth when he said that Moses' face shone as he came down from the Mount. Something similar is suggested in the dramatic story of the transfiguration. Prayer is conversation with the Great Companion about all our deepest interests. When we have said that, we have said most definitely that it is an organizing experience. The psychology of today recognizes thought as conversation actually involving language, so that prayer is not necessarily different from meditation on the spiritual meaning of life.

The church started with the exquisite form of prayer given by Jesus, still utterly satisfying for an organization of experience. Public prayer is not an easy achievement, so it early came to pass that when gifted men formulated prayers, others took them as their own. It is quite possible to have a sense of originality, and of immediateness, in using the classical expressions of emotion, as every lover has discovered. The development of liturgy, therefore, was not in itself a loss of spontaneity; nor in those communions where the forms of prayer are disapproved has it always been possible to escape from stereotyped expression.

Can we make prayer real in the modern church? In liturgical services it is all too easy to "say prayers." And when the minister is to compose a prayer for the congregation, he cannot by any means be sure that he will have a real response to the injunction, "Let us pray." He goes off on his prayer excursion, but do they follow him? Dewey has strikingly said that nobody teaches unless someone learns any more than anybody sells unless someone buys. Does, then, anybody lead in prayer unless some one follows? We need to develop a most careful education in prayer from the very beginning, so that habits of inattention and indifference may be avoided. The brief collect, with the requirement of the congregational "Amen" response, is psychologically the most effective type of prayer. It has its own single mood; it is concerned with a single subject; it unites the congregation in a simple experience; it provides for participation in the congregational response. This communal experience is often very satisfactorily achieved by the employment of the "biddings." It is very desirable that the earliest forms of public prayer to which children are invited shall have this characteristic. Nothing could be less educational than the old Sunday-school practice of calling upon a worthy elder for extemporaneous prayer, with the result that there was a roaming over the whole field of religious interest, with repeated petitions for God to bless this and bless that.

Children very naturally respond to the social practice of prayer. Mrs. Mumford has pointed out the effect on the baby of the reverent attitude of the mother at night as she bends over the cradle, and later of the quiet moments when mother and child review the happenings of

the day. A worshiping group easily includes its children in the practice of prayer. Skilful parents and primary leaders find children composing very real and appropriate prayers of desire and thankfulness. Our primary curriculum based upon such concepts as living together, living with God, helpers of God, evokes happy and interesting response from children.

The God-concept of a child is very often an organizing experience. He includes God in the group whose social approval he desires. A little boy said to his father, "Me do this." The father gently suggested that he should say, "I do this." The little fellow promptly replied, "God wants me to say I, doesn't he?" A child of six, walking with her father, said "God is walking with us, isn't he, though we cannot see him?" The sense of fellowship was real and was an organizing experience. Conversation with the unseen under such conditions is real and socially significant.

The young worshipers will be troubled by untoward conditions. A little girl of seven, being put to bed just as a storm was breaking, said, "I should think God would know better than to make it thunder just when children are going to bed." Here was an opportunity of religious education. She must learn that she is in that kind of world. It is a big enterprise and cannot be suited to her small convenience. These corrections of attitude and of expectancy may be accomplished without loss of fundamental faith, if parents and teachers will help the child in this broadening experience. We must talk with children about the meaning of the world, about its mystery and complexity, and teach them to seek for strength and patience to bear its difficulties.

A girl of twelve, told to pray for her mother who was sick, replied, "It is no good; I have tried it." Evidently prayer had not helped her to organize her experiences, for the prayer had seemed to be futile. Such critical attitudes are not to be discouraged, still less to be disapproved, for they are the natural means of reaching a reconstruction of thought. We must help the children to strike into deeper desires than for these good things which they cannot have. Worship will include renunciation, acceptance of disappointment, and courageous facing of the facts of life. The untoward conditions of the world must be themselves taken up into the organization of experience. So worship may become more real, even when it seems to have failed.

A boys' class, which had been very unruly during the "opening exercises" of the Sunday school, accepted the suggestion of the teacher to undertake the project of developing a class prayer. They frankly discussed what they ought to pray for and what they might expect from their prayer. Petty desires were eliminated. The grounds of common hope and purpose were discovered. The prayer as it was formulated became the expression of all that life meant to them. When the substance was agreed upon, it was felt that it must be clothed in fitting language. Each boy essayed to write the prayer, and there was much discussion as to the forms of expression. When finally agreed upon, each of the class learned it by heart; and it became to them a genuine vehicle of corporate worship.

A junior church undertook the preparation of its own worship program. The problem of prayer developed, and the members worked out for themselves the prayers which expressed their own hopes and aspirations.

The basis of prayer is community of experience. We are able and anxious to pray because together we feel the same needs, we face the same tasks, we meet the same difficulties, we react to life in the same way. Prayer is our common expression of our sense of inadequacy and of our earnest desires. The education process, therefore, is the direction of the young people toward the realization of their community of interest and to the expression of that common experience in natural and significant forms. If we are successful in that endeavor, we may be able to secure praying congregations by and by. It must be direction, not imposition. The preparation of programs for them to listen to, or even to participate in, will not have anything like the significance of the programs which they work out for themselves on the basis of a study of their own needs, and of the relation of worship to those needs. Under skilful direction they may be led into the wealth of liturgical material where they may find many prayers quite suitable to their own experience, and in which they may discover an elevation of thought and a beauty of expression which they could not themselves have reached.

INSTRUCTION

There is a common misapprehension that worship does not include instruction. The exercises of prayer, song, and the like are supposed to be worship to which the instruction is added. This is neither historically nor psychologically true of Christian worship. The more emotional expression of religion is properly accompanied by a consideration of its meaning and an application of its power to social duty. Our worship programs will be more significant and more unified if we integrate the instruc-

tional element as an essential part of the whole. Instruction may take the form of story, scripture exposition, exhortation, sermon. The worshiper, stirred by the experience of the Supreme Presence, wants to know what is his duty. We have noted how, in the experience of Jesus, meditation upon the principles of his mission followed upon the emotional exaltation of the baptism. In the case of the worshiping group, the feeling of communion with God and with one's fellows naturally leads to a desire to know the meaning of duty. This is the opportunity for instruction.

There is another function of instruction, especially important today when the fundamental assumptions of worship are called in question. To what purpose the most carefully prepared order of worship, if the objection arises that it has no meaning? To be sure, vital worship is often contagious and validates itself. But many today are confused and hesitant; many are turning away from worship because they do not understand it. We owe them the most satisfactory explanation we can give. The instruction element may be in the best sense apologetic, opening up the meaning of religious experience and its natural expression in worship form.

In the Christian church, instruction early took the form of interpretation of Scripture with suggestions for duty. With the development of controversy over theological matters, the elucidation of doctrine became prominent. In the less formal meetings of the church, discussion and exhortation by the more mature members was possible. In its great creative periods the pulpit has dealt with a wide range of problems in which the religious interpretation of life has been the purpose of the preacher.

We are at the present time in a very interesting development of religious discussion. Young people's conventions, particularly those of college students, have departed from the older practice of listening to eloquent addresses and have undertaken to carry on systematic consideration of vital problems.[1] The forum and the discussion class have also in many places superseded the religious "service." This has been especially the case in Sunday evening gatherings.

There is nothing incompatible in these two types of instructional procedure. We shall not decide between the sermon and the discussion, for we need both. Nothing can ever take the place of an orderly and inspiring presentation of truth and duty by a competent speaker. Some of the deepest worship experiences, most effective in the organization of life's values, come to a united assembly listening to a great preacher. On the other hand, the attempt to formulate one's own thought, the willingness to listen sympathetically to various points of view, and the endeavor to find common agreements and ways of common action when opinions and interests are diverse have the highest educational value. The church will do well to provide ample opportunity both for older and younger in the discussion experience.

With children, instruction very largely takes the form of the story. Truth and duty become luminous as they are thus seen concretely and interpreted with mental dramatization. How far a simple form of sermon[2] is effec-

[1] See Elliott in "The Relation of Discussion to Worship," *Religious Education*, Vol. XX, No. 5 (October 1925), an admirable presentation of this form of discussion, not as debate where each side seeks victory but as consideration of all points of view in an endeavor to understand duty.

[2] *Religious Education*, December, 1924, contains a symposium "Do Sermons to Children Educate?"

tive with children has not been sufficiently studied. Miss Fahs[1] thinks the experience of the Union School of Religion is unfavorable to the children's sermon. Probably what is meant is that instruction should not take the moralizing or hortatory form. One remembers the child who liked the new minister because he had no morals.

The essential consideration is that children's worship should contain some element in which truth and duty are definitely faced. The emotional tide which worship ought to produce is to bear the worshiper on to his tasks. This is only to say again that the organizing quality of worships hould become explicit in affirmational or didactic form.

PAGEANTRY AND DRAMA

We have already noted some educational values in pageantry and drama which grow out of the identification of the actor with the rôle which he plays. Thus these aspects of religious activity which are often thought of as merely recreative have really a far deeper significance. It is also important to note the worship values which are possible in such exercises.

Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter, and other seasonal pageants may be very distinctly worshipful. They represent the response of the human spirit to the world of nature and to the high celebrations of religious faith. If in the preparation for such pageants the attitudes of reverence and appreciation rather than those of theatrical participation can be developed, there may be a worship mood of the deepest significance. Everything here depends upon making the entire preparation process educational. It should include, with understanding of the religious meanings, appreciation of the significance of each element

[1] *Ibid.*

in the pageant, and particularly the function of the actors in leading the worship of the spectators. If the rehearsals are made exercises of worship with appropriate prayer, these values can be secured.

Not all dramatization will have the worship quality, at least not in very marked form. But wherever religious feeling is expressed in the drama, it may stimulate like feeling in actors and spectators. We recall a presentation of scenes in the life of Paul at a Sunday-morning service, when the sense of devotion to a great cause and of the guidance of God in the way of duty so possessed the young people and the audience that all were unified in a profound experience of religious meaning.

REALITY IN WORSHIP

Fundamental in all our education in worship must be the sense of reality. If we simply go through ordered forms, if we are only developing pleasant ceremonials, even though we are achieving a certain fellowship of the like minded, the young people may well say to us: Why should we undertake these peculiar activities? Worship must be so vital that it is the most real experience of life; otherwise it is nothing. Here we reach the heart of religious education. Worship is the emotional expression of our sense of highest values; it is conscious self-motivation to supremest duty; it is the process of rendering explicit our personal relation to Reality.

We have attempted to outline religious education as the co-operative process, by which we associate our children with ourselves in that enterprise of righteousness and love, which as Christians we dare to believe is the purpose of God and the meaning of human life. Looking into the

future we are inevitably conscious of the magnitude of that enterprise. There is the age-old struggle between the spirit and the flesh, the higher and the lower satisfactions, and there are all the common acerbities and selfishnesses that mar and often nullify social living. Beyond these are the peculiar difficulties of our day. We face nothing less than the rebuilding of a world that has been sorely shaken; we have to think out and work out what we mean by this baffling democracy, of which it is so easy to speak glibly but which it is so difficult to achieve; we are feeling the shock of races, the clash of nationalities, the sharp antagonism of divergent economic interests. Suspicions, hatreds, fears, preparations for defense, are natural attitudes, which we can easily impart to the generation that is growing up with us. But faith in our fellow-man, comradeship in promoting a universal commonweal, ideal fellowships transcending the divisions that keep men apart, the love that "thinketh no evil, believeth all things, hopeth all things," the faith that is willing to take the great risks of love—who is sufficient for these things? Jesus speaks again to our timorous, practical hearts: "The things which are impossible with men are possible with God." So we summon our children to come with us to worship. We are seeking strength for the impossible; we are striving to see beyond our little human practicalities to the ideal; we are reaching out our hands to take hold on the Eternal.

SUBJECTS FOR STUDY

1. Let each member of the class report some significant form of religious observance in his own or some other family. By comparison and evaluation of these, make a list of possible religious activities for the use of the modern family.

2. Study any accessible experiments of church worship in which children are included with the adult congregation. Endeavor to discover (*a*) the appropriateness of the service to child interest, (*b*) the attitude and behavior of the children, (*c*) the effect upon the adults.

3. Study some programs of junior congregations, preferably by actual observation. Consider (*a*) the appropriateness of each element to child interest, (*b*) the attitude and behavior of the children, (*c*) the value of the worship as preparation for later participation in adult worship.

4. Let each member of the class report on the following points: (*a*) his own childhood practice of attending the adult worship, (*b*) its voluntary or compulsory character, (*c*) his general attitude and behavior, (*d*) its effect upon his interest in worship. Compile and evaluate the data thus secured.

5. Study the hymns used in a given church for a month. What ideas are contained in them? What moods do they express? Evaluate the symbolism, imagery, and poetic quality of them. How significant as worship did they seem to be to that congregation?

6. Make a similar study of a young people's worship. If possible, compare two groups—one where the singing is hearty, the other where it is listless. Endeavor to discover whether there is any difference in the attitudes, moods, appreciations, of the two groups.

7. Make a similar study of a children's program of worship.

8. A difficult but important problem is to find out what happens during the period of prayer. In the nature of the case the ordinary questionnaire is not likely to yield very satisfactory results. The following technique has been used with some good responses but not sufficiently for decisive report. It needs further trial. Twelve worshipers were selected representing average religious interest. At the close of worship, without previous notification, they were asked to answer these questions: "What posture did you take when the minister said 'Let us pray'?" "Did you give immediate attention to his prayer?" "Did you have the experience of joining him in the prayer?" "Did he say anything that stimulated you to independent prayer?" "Did your thoughts wander; if so, to what extent?" "Was your prevailing mood (*a*) prayerful, (*b*) simply respectful, (*c*) indifferent, (*d*) bored?" "Is the prayer to you (*a*) one of the high points of the worship, (*b*) a formal necessity, (*c*) an undesirable element?"

9. Work out a technique of inquiry for the sermon on the general plan of the above.

10. A desirable study would be the careful observation of a group of children preparing and presenting a religious pageant or drama under a skilled leader, who was seeking to induce the worship attitude. Such reactions as the following should be noted: Did the children have any appreciation of their undertaking as an attempt to portray a religious experience? Did they feel that it was a group endeavor, thus subordinating jealousy and rivalry? What attempt was made by the leader to create an atmosphere of reverence, and how did the children respond? Did the conversation of the children among themselves, and with their parents, reveal any appreciation of the religious values involved? Was the performance an act of worship on the part of (*a*) the managers, (*b*) the actors, (*c*) the spectators? What were the after effects? At what points would you suggest a change of procedure? What is your estimate of the undertaking as a promotion of worship?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Make a careful study of your experience of family religion. Estimate its significance, positive and negative, in your religious development. How might it have been more valuable?

2. Recall your childhood experiences of worship. What seem to you to have been valuable and in what way? What programs of worship were prepared for you which you now consider unsatisfactory?

3. Did you attend the adult worship as a child? What parts were interesting or significant to you? What was your experience during the parts that you did not understand? Were you (*a*) socially satisfied, (*b*) pleased with your partial participation, (*c*) fidgetty, (*d*) irritated?

4. Did you ever revolt from church attendance; if so, why?

5. How far did the programs of children's worship prepare you for the adult congregation?

6. What hymns did you learn as a child which you now know and use? Evaluate these in your religious experience.

7. Did you learn any hymns in childhood that tended to spoil your appreciation of church hymnody?

8. What better training might you have had in religious song?

9. Recall your earliest prayer. Who taught you? How early did prayer seem to be significant to you? Did you have any unhappy experiences in your prayer development, e.g., unanswered prayers which shocked your faith?

10. What is your present practice of prayer? Is it satisfactory to you? Trace the influences of early prayer habits and of breaks in such habits upon your present experience.

11. Make a study of your own experience during public prayer.

12. Make a study of your own experience during the sermon.

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